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INDIA UNDER THE KUSHĀNAS

By

B. N. PURI

BHARATIYA VIDYA BHAVAN
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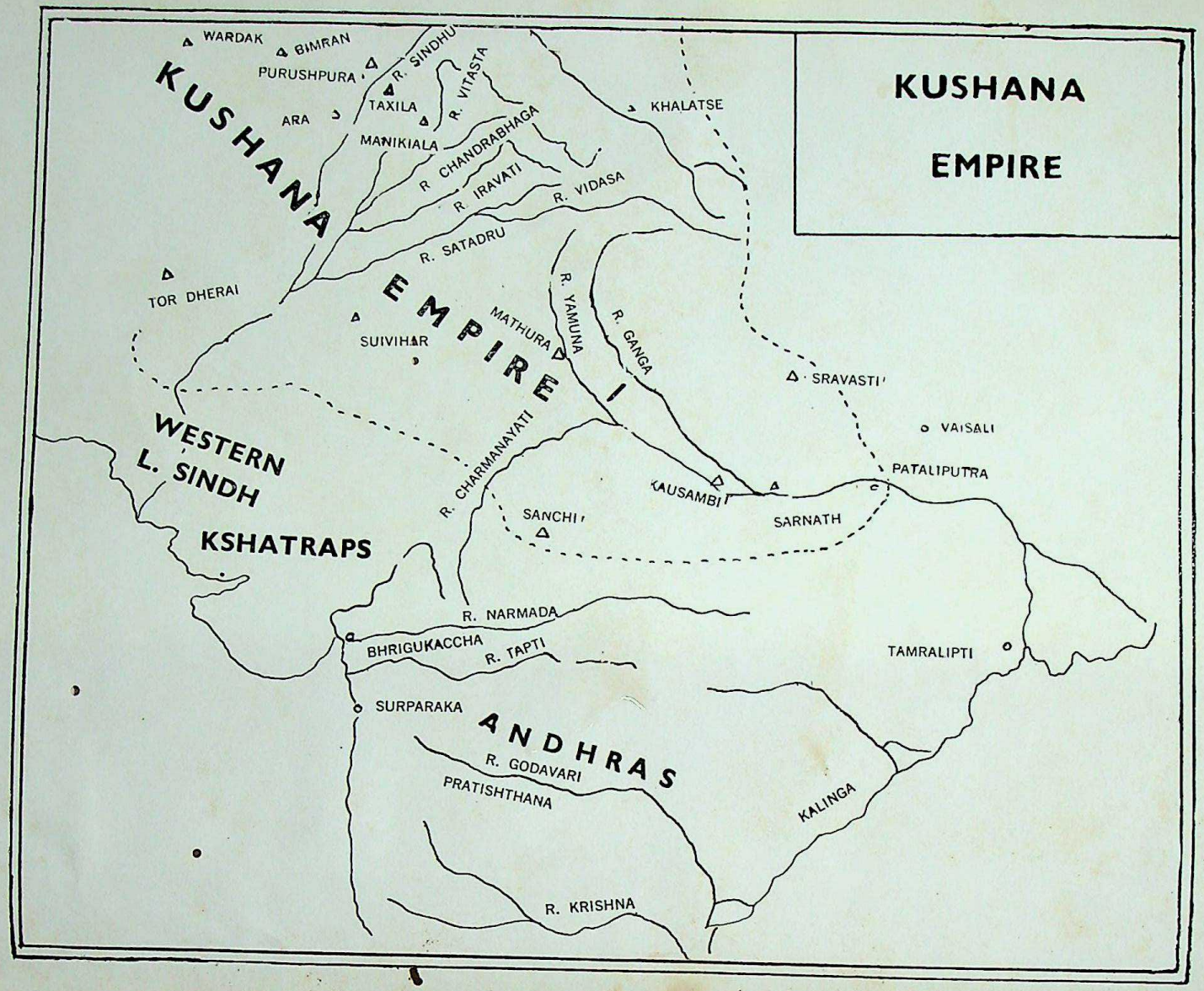

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1965

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PREFACE

The question of the nationality of the Kushāṇas has the foremost attention of any one attempting a study of their history. Their Mongoloid origin, as a part of the Yueh-chi clan, on the basis of the evidence from the Chinese Annals is in contrast to their features depicted on their coins. A recent study of the Yueh-chi problem by Maenchen-Helfen has thrown some light on the subject. I had occasion to make a study of their features, as depicted on their coins, with a view to suggesting their origin more than twenty years back. I have now considered the available evidence afresh, and have come to the conclusion that the Kushāṇas could be identified with the Tukhāras or Tushāras of the Purāṇas, and their origin could be traced to the peak-helmeted Śakas (Śaka Tigrakhaudas) of Herodotus. The Chinese annals based their accounts on hearsay evidence, and there seems to be contradiction, as suggested much earlier by Kuwabara Jitzuzo. The Kushāṇas were different from the Yueh-chi who conquered the former, but the Annals identified them with the Yueh-chi in their subsequent accounts. The socio-religious aspect of the question, particularly relating to their assimilation in the Indian social structure, and their religious approach from the very beginning cannot be completely free from doubt, unless we presume that they were nearer to India and the Indians. This stands more amenable to reason than their Mongoloid origin which is unwarranted from their appearance on coins, and the statues depicting their dress and features.

The history of the Kadphises rulers—father and son—in all its aspects, forms the subject matter of the second chapter. Their precedence over Kanishka and the members of his family is not questioned. The life and achievements of Kujula Kadphises, his relations with Hermaeus, conquests; identity with Kujula Kara Kadphises, and relations with the western world are considered in detail. His son Wima Kadphises, succeeding an octogenarian father, himself ruled for a fairly long time, and it is likely that he ascended the throne in 78 A.D., and may be associated with the Śaka era used by his Kshatrapas in Western India. The identification of Soter Megas and his relations with Wima Kadphises have also been considered. Wima Kadphises' external relations are also noticed in this chapter. There seems to be a gap, though a short one, between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka. There is no ground for presuming that Kanishka was a little Yueh-chi, or he belonged to the main Yueh-chi clan.

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Kanishka's relation with Khotan and the contemporary powers may not be denied. His scheme of conquest suggests his triumphant march as far as Sārnāth, and possibly even beyond by the year 3, followed by the annexation of the lower Punjab & north Sindh. Kashmir formed a part of his empire which extended as far as Balkh and included eastern Afganistan. The records of this family—not the royal praśastis, but those of donations and dedications by individual donors—are dated from the year 1 to 98, thereby suggesting that a regnal era continued till the end of this dynasty. The initial year of this era is suggested to be the year A.D. 144, so as to eliminate the chances of a clash between Kanishka and Rudradāman. This is confirmed by the Sassanian destruction of the Kushāṇa city at Begram, and at other places sometime in 241/242 A.D. This would also suggest the identification of Vāsudeva of this family with Potiao in the third century A.D. This late date for Kanishka was suggested by me much earlier in 1941 (I.C. Vol. VII), and I still adhere to my old views. Kanishka's relations with contemporary powers in India, and in Central Asia are noticed. His contribution as a Buddhist is also assessed. Huvishka and Vāsudeva have received equal attention.

The last chapter on Political history centres round the Later Kushāṇas—Kaneshko and Vāsudeva or Vasu of the coins—but actually there were several rulers whose existence is brought out by the epigraphic records. Kanishka of the Mathurā inscription of the year 14, Vāsishka or Vajheshka, father of Kanishka of the Ara inscription, and Kanishka of the Surkh Kotal inscription of the year 31, identified with the Kanishka of the Ara inscription figure in this dynasty. The *Kushāṇa-putra* of the Māt inscription, signifying the descendant of the Kushāṇas, was possibly the founder of this family, and the inscriptions might be dated in Kanishka's era with omitted hundred. This chronological set up would obviate the difficulty experienced in fitting Kanishka of the Ara inscription, and that of Surkh Kotal in the unbroken reign of Huvishka from the year 28-60. It would also establish Vāsishka's claim over Malwa.

The Administrative system was based on the model of the Achaemenian rulers through division of the empire into several provinces or satrapies. The names of the Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas noticed in the records, and even those of the Daṇḍanāyakas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas are not Indian, thus suggesting that the provincial chief and feudal lords were outsiders. The village headmen were definitely Indians. We also notice the principle of hereditary appointments in some records.

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PREFACE

The chapters following deal with the Social life, Economic Conditions, Education, Religious Life, Literature, and Art and Architecture. It is an accepted fact that Aśvaghosha was a contemporary of Kanishka. His two works—*Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda* furnish ample material for the study of the life in this period. The evidence from the other works—from the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature—*Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara* and the *Avadānas,* and *Milindapañha*—are also taken into consideration. The dating of these works is not a matter of uncertainty, all being assigned between the first and the third century A.D., although there might be a slight overlapping one way or the other. Indian life and conditions have not undergone such changes—much less within short periods—as to warrant a different study. In fact the structural pattern remains more or less the same. The inscriptions and sculptures of the period from Gandhāra and Mathurā provide a faithful and honest source material for the study of the conditions of Northern India in this period. Attempt has, therefore, been made to view all facets of life, social, economic, and religious, and the pattern of education, basing our study or the available sources—first inscriptions and sculptures, corroborated by the evidence from the literature.

It has also been necessary to consider the literature of this period—popularly known as Sanskrit Buddhist literature. All the works mentioned above have, therefore, been noticed from the point of view of their age, contents, their borrowings from the earlier works, and other aspects. Their literary merit has not, however, been a matter of adjudication in this work. Art and Architecture thrived under the patronage of the Kushāṇas both at Gandhāra and at Mathurā. The artists enjoyed the patronage of the rulers and the people alike. Gandhāra art is purely Buddhist while that of Mathurā is secular in character. The age of the Buddha image can be traced to separate traditions in these two centres, although it was probably carved on stone more or less at the same time. The age and contributions of the two schools have been considered in detail.

In the two following appendices, a comprehensive list of Inscriptions—Kharoshṭhī, Greek, and Brāhmī—is given with full references. A preceding Note on the Kushāṇa Numismatics includes types of coins, their metallurgy, legends, divinities portrayed on them, weight standards and monograms.

In the end I must express my indebtedness to the following—some of whom, alas! are no more—for guidance, encouragement and advice: the late Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar in whose library in Calcutta,

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ABBREVIATIONS

ABIHB—Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Indology, Bombay.

ABIHK—Annual Bibliography of Indian History and Archaeology, Leyden.

ABORI—Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona.

ASR—Archaeological Survey Reports of Cunningham, Calcutta etc.

ASI. An. Rep.—Archaeological Survey of India Annual Reports, Delhi.

ASI. Fr. Cir.—Archaeological Survey of India Reports, Frontier Circle.

BMQ—British Museum Quarterly, London.

BSOAS—Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

CII—Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

EI—Epigraphia Indica, Calcutta etc.

IA—Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

IHQ—Indian Historical Quarterly, Calcutta.

JA—Journal Asiatique, Paris.

JAOS—Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven.

JASB—Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

JBORS—Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society, Patna.

JGIS—Journal of the Greater India Society, Calcutta.

JIH—Journal of Indian History, Madras, Trivandrum.

JISOA—Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.

JNSI—Journal of the Numismatic Society of India, Bombay, Varanasi.

JORI—Journal of the Oriental Research Institute, Madras.

JRAS—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.

JRASB—Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, Bombay.

JUPS—Journal of the U.P. Historical Society, Lucknow.

NIA—New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.

QJMS—Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.

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CHAPTER I
THE KUSHĀṆAS

The chronology of the Kushāṇas[1] still continues to be one of the most perplexing problems of Indian History. Optimstic faith in progress towards general assent on the question of the date of Kaṇishka is still far from realization. What was supposed by Vincent Smith[2] in 1919 to be an uncertainty reduced to a period of forty years in round numbers is now advanced by another twenty-five years. The unearthing of the new evidence, as for example, from Ghirshman's excavation at Begram[3], and the find of a new inscription of Kanishka[4] dated in the year 31, add another twist to the already existing gordian knot of Kushāṇa chronology. The Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41 is no longer an intruder between Kanishka and Huvishka, but he seems to have had a longer lease of existence as a Kushāṇa ruler. Confusion still prevails despite the fact that so many scholars[5] have grappled with the subject within the last eighty years or more. The nationality of the Kushāṇas *vis-a-vis* their relations with the Yueh-chi needs proper assessing, and demands prior consideration before fixing the time table of the history of the Kushāṇas.

The Nationality of the Kushāṇas: The questions of the nationality of the Kushāṇas is not a new problem. It previously engaged the attention of several scholars.[6] They took into account the names of the Kushāṇa rulers, their designations, dress and features depicted on their coins, and lastly the reference to tribes in Indian, Classical Greek, and Chinese sources with any one of which the Kushāṇas could be equated. The available evidence on the subject, however, needs proper sifting and scrutiny before pronouncing anything definite, or nearly certain on this issue. It was suggested by F. W. Thomas[7] that the Kushāṇas were neither Turks, nor Mongols, but belonged to an Iranian and more precisely to some division of the Scythians or the Sakas. The names Kadphises or Kaneski (Kanishka), Ooeski (Huvishka) have ending in *es or i*, as in Maues, Azes, Pseigakharis, against those of the ancient Parthians. The names Kadphises, Kanishka, Huvishka can in a certain measure be explained as Iranian *Kada* (goad), *pise* (form or appearance) as in the Scythian Spargapeithes. The *hu* prefix in Huvishka might be equated with *su* meaning 'good'.

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The form Kujula was supposed by Hultzsch[8] to be a Turkish one. The title *Yavuga* (*Yaoos*) and in Chinese sources *hi-hou* associated with Kujula Kadphises was identified by Hirth[9] with Turki Jabgu. The designation was also explained in a similar way. Hultzsch compared it with Gujlu, strong,[10] and Konow thought of *guzel*, 'beautiful'.[11] The advocates of the Turkish theory sought confirmation from the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (I. 170) which refers to the Turki kings of Gandhāra claiming Kanishka as their ancestor; and the other members of his dynasty as *Turushkas,* i.e. Turks. The proofs of the Turki nationality of the Kushāṇas was thought possible in the features presented by the likeness on their coins. Kennedy was positive[12] that 'they belonged to the great Turki family,' and spoke of Kanishka's features as characteristic of his race. 'The pointed cranium, the salient cheek-bones, the large, long and heavy nose, the thick beard....and his coins represent him as a powerful built barbarian king, clad in loose coat and huge boots which were the common dress of Turkestan.'

The Turkish origin theory based on ethnic features, the use of certain titles or designations which appear to be Turki, and the reference to the Kushāṇas as Turushkas in later sources, are inconclusive. The large nose and other features described above are characteristics of the so-called *Homo-alpinus,* which is stated to be largely represented in the population of Chinese Turkestan.[13] The history and ethnology of this region and its people suggest that the Turki element is comparatively late. Sten Konow, quoting Joyce, finds the purest form in the majority of the people in Wakhi whose relationship with the Galcha proves that the basis of the population was Iranian. The Turki tribes did not make their appearance later on in the country once ruled by the Kushāṇas, and that accounts for the statements of Kalhaṇa and Hemchandra. As regards the origin of the titles or designations. Yavuga and Kujula, it is difficult to find a Turki etymology for the former.[14] According to Sten Konow,[15] it is more likely to be originally Iranian and subsequently adopted by others. The Kushāṇas took it over from the Śakas, and is more likely to be equated with Zauva used by the Saka Patika. As regards Kujula, nothing can be said about its etymology and significance. The Turkish origin theory of the Kushāṇas resting on the slender foundations of dubious titles, ethnic features, and very late evidence from Indian literature is, therefore, unacceptable.

The Mongoloid Origin Theory:

This theory is primarily based on the Chinese accounts[16] which refers to a certain tribe known as Yueh-chi, its westward move-

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ments, and finally its conquest of the territory called Ta-hia formerly under the occupation of the Śakas, and the division of this tribe into five principalities of which Kuei-Shuang or Kushana became the dominating one. The same account is related in three sources with modifications and variations demanding proper scrutiny. According to the *'annals of the first Han dynasty'* by Pan-Ku (Pan-Kou) who incorporated the adventures of Chang-Kien as related by SSu-ma-chien (completed before B.C. 91), the Yueh-chi after their settling down in Ta-hia were divided into five principalities. They were no longer nomads, although originally they were, and followed their flocks changing grounds with them. The Kingdom of Ta-Yueh-chi had for its capital the town of Kien-chi (Lan-Chuw) with Ki-pin lying on its southern frontier. Among the five principalities mentioned in 'the annals of Pan-ku', the principality of Kuei-shuang (identified as Kushāṇa), had its capital at Hou-tsao (unidentified). Other details given in the annals are uncalled for here.

Further information is given in the *Hou-Han-Shu,* written by Fan-Ye (d. 449), known as *'Annals of the later Han dynasty'*, which cover the period between (A.D. 25-125) from the period of Kien-Wu (A.D. 25-55) to the end of the reign of the emperor Ngan (A.D. 107-125). A marked change is noticed in the account relating to the Yueh-chi and the Kuei-shuang. The Capital of Yueh-chi in this account is given as Lan-shi, the old Ta-hia capital in Badakshan. The Yueh-chi represented then the whole Ta-hia empire and, in the words of Chavannes who translated the account, henceforth they are the *Ta-hia.* The account relating to the five principalities given here is somewhat different. According to the *Tsien-Han-Shu* (the annals of Pan-Ku) there were five principalities in Ta-hia each under a *hi-hou,* which all depended on the *Yueh-chi: Hiu-mi* with the capital *Homo.; Shuang-mi* with the capital of the same name, *Kuei-Shuang* with the capital *Hu-tsao; Hi-tun* with the capital *Po-mao,* and *Kao-fu* with the capital of the same name. The *Hou-Han-Shu,* instead of mentioning the five principalities as existing in the Ta-hia country, suggests that the Yueh-chi divided the Ta-hia empire between five *hi-hou,* and instead of Kao-fu (supposed by him to be a mistake of *Tsien Han-shu,* it gives Tu-mi as the name of the fifth principality. Further information is also given in the *Hou-Han-Shu* regarding the achievements of the *Kuei-shuang* prince a hundred years after the first event, namely the setting up of the five principalities in Ta-hia. The Kuei-shuang prince Kieou-Stsieou-Kio attacked and subjugated the other principalities and styled himself king of a kingdom called Kuei-Shuang. The other events relating to him and to his son are to be considered later on. The main question on

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the basis of the Chinese accounts is; were the *Kuei-shuang,* a part of the *Yueh-chi* or the *Yueh-chi* found them one of the five principalities of the old kingdom, who after the Yueh-chi conquest of Ta-hia changed their allegiance to the latter?

The Japanese scholar Kuwabara Jitzuzo[17] was the first to discover the discrepancy between the two accounts. In his opinion the authors of the *Hou-Han-shu* had misunderstood the *Tsien-Han-shu.* The five *hi-hou* are now supposed to have existed already in Ta-hia, when the Yueh-chi invaded the Bactrian kingdom. Wherefore the Kushāṇas could not have been the Yueh-chi. Kuwabara's interpretation was accepted by Haneda. Toru,[18] Sten Konow[19] and Paul Pelliot,[20] with Haloun reserving his judgment, and Tarn[22] standing by the old theory. Maenchen-Helfen refers to Śaka Kushāṇas in the Yueh-chi horde.[23]

The main argument for separating the five *hi-hou* from the Yueh-chi is the passage 'they are all dependent on the Yueh-chi'. It is argued that the term 'dependent' would make no sense if the *hi-hou* were Yueh-chi themselves. One, however, feels that much stress has been laid on the evidence from the Chinese annals, ignoring other obvious factors, like the dress of the Kushāṇas, their features, the use of titles,[24] designations, and the language,[25] and, above all, the reference to the tribes in that region, later on known as Ta-hia or Bactria. If that was the original habitat of the Kushāṇas before their subjugation by the Yueh-chi, were they known by some other name? The *pun* on the words need not be taken as decisive in fixing the Mongoloid nationality of the Kushāṇas when there are other factors which cannot be ignored. We may therefore look to the classical sources—Greek, Latin and Sanskrit for the names of peoples in that regions with some one the Kushāṇas might be equated.

The Śaka-Iranian Theory:

The Śaka-Iranian origin of the Kushāṇas with their home in Ta-hia rests on the affinity of language with race and is vehemently pursued by Sten Konow.[26] He feels justified in drawing the conclusion from the fact that several terms and designations used by the Kushāṇas find their explanation in an Iranian language, which was once spoken and used in literature in parts of Chinese Turkestan, and only in it. Leumann[27] called it North-Aryan giving an account of its peculiarities. Pelliot[28] spoke of it as East-Iranian, and Lüders took it as a Śaka language.[29] The language is called Khotani by Kirtse.[30] It is no doubt the Saka language. The Sakish element in Kushāṇa coins and inscriptions is brought out by Sten Konow, as

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for example, designations like *Yavuga, Kujula, Erthuṇa, Muroḍa* and *Majhaka* of the Zeda inscription, and finally the coin legends of Kanishka and his successors written in pure Khotanese Saka though in Greek letters *Shaunanu Shau Kaneshki Kushanu. Shau* is a well known Saka word for 'King' used as *Shshau* in several documents of the eighth century. It has the same base as *Shāhi, Shāh.* According to Sten Konow,[31] every thing points to the conclusion that the Kushāṇas were Iranians atleast in language, and the affinity with the Sakas leads us to think that they were a Saka clan or family.

The relations of the Kushāṇas with the Yueh-chi either as one of the five Yab-gou or tribe of the big pastoral race, or as one of those five clans or kingdoms which became dependent on the Ta-yueh-chi after their conquest of the Ta-hia, is evident from the Chinese annals. The capital of the *Yueh-chi* became the old Ta-hia capital Lan-shi in Badakshan which remained their stronghold down to the fifth century A.D.[32] The Yueh-chi occupied the whole of Ta-hia country in the period of the *Hou-Han-Shu.* According to Chavannes henceforward they are *Ta-hia.*

The Classical Greek and Latin Sources:

The relations of the Kushāṇas, called Kuei-Shuang, in the Chinese annals, *vis-a-vis* the *Yueh-chi* can well be ascertained with reference to their occupation of Ta-hia of which the capital was Lan-shi (Bactra or Alexandria in Bactria). The movements of these wild tribes in Bactria is also noticed by classical Greek and Latin writers. Strabo mentions a Śaka conquest of Bactria,[33] where the Greek kings were ousted by Scythian nomads, and sons of these nomadic tribes are mentioned by him, notably, the Asioi, Pasianoi, Tocharoi[34] and Sakarauloi. Trogus in the 41st book while dealing with the establishment of an empire in Bactria by Diodotus, which took place about the middle of the 3rd century B.C., also gives an account of how Scythian tribes, the Saraucae and the Asiani, took possession of Bactria and Sogdiana.[35] According to Justin, the Bactrians lost both their empire and their freedom being harassed by the Sogdians, the Arachoti, the Drangae and the Arei, and finally oppressed by the Parthians. In the prologus of the 42nd book of Trogus there is further information relating to the Asiani (becoming kings of the Tocharians and the anihilation of the Saraucae.[36]

Sten Konow identifies the Asiani with the Yueh-chi of the Chinese annals. Tocharians were well settled in and to the east of Bactria, when the Yueh-chi became their masters. The classical and Chinese accounts are combined by him to reconstruct the course of events.

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If the classical sources recording the same course of historical events mention Tocharians as the master of Bactria=Ta-hia before its occupation by the Yueh-chi, can we presume that the Tocharians represented one or all the five tribes or *hi-hou* who were in occupation of Bactria before the Yueh-chi onslaught? This is possible only if we accept that the establishment of the five hi-hou of which the *Kuei-shuang* was the dominating one, was a *fait accompli* prior to the Yueh-chi invasion and not an act subsequent to it or a part of it. The identification of the Tocharians with the Kuei-Shuang or Kushanas, calls for the assessment of Indian source material, if any.

Indian Sources:

In the dynastic lists of the Purāṇas,[37] the *Tushāra* kings succeeded the Yavanas. Their number is given as 14. The Matsya assigns them a period of seven thousands years (*Śapta-varsha Sahasrāṇi*), evidently a mistake for *Sapta-varsha-śatān-iha* or 107 years, while the *Vāyu* and the *Brahmāṇḍa* assign them 105 years (*Pañcha-varsha-śatāni*) The name Tukhāra also appears in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, the *Mahābhārata* as well as in two old Buddhist texts, the *Sadharma-Smrityupasthāna* and the *Mahāmayūrī*. As a distinct people with their own country in the mountainous region beyond the Himalayas, they were known to the Indians as late as the middle of the seventh century A.D. Thus, all the sources of information mention Tukhāra as distinct people and the land of the Tukhāras (Tokharestan), as distinct country beyond the frontiers of India.[38]

According to the Puranic sources the kings of the Tukhāra origin conquered India from the Greeks and fourteen of their rulers ruled for more than a hundred years. They appear to be precisely the rulers called Kushāṇa in inscriptions and coins. As the Tocharians and the Sakas mentioned in the classical Greek sources had much in common, that accounts for the use of the Saka designations by the Kushāṇa monarchs. It may, therefore, be suggested that the term Śaka was used in a very laxy manner from the time of the Achaemenians. The Nakshi-i-Rustam inscription mentions[39] the individual Saka tribes: The Tigrakhauda, of pointed caps; the Haumavarka and those beyond the sea (*Taradraya*). It is quite likely that the Tocharians who came to be known as Tukhāras to the Indians, might have been one of the Saka hordes in early times, probably the *Tigrakhauda*, 'of pointed caps' as we also find the Kushāṇa rulers depicted on their coins.

There is another point worth consideration: the influence of Indian religion on these monarchs. It has been pointed out in another publication[40] of ours that the Huns—probably representing

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the Chinese Hiung-nu took a long time to be assimilated in the socio-religious scheme of India, but we find that the very first ruler Kujula Kadphises is steadfast in true law (*Satyadharmasthitasya*) with the figure of Buddha depicted on his coins; Vima Kadphises, his son, a devotee of *Śiva* (*Maheśvara*); Kanishka, a patron of all religions, believing in eclecticism; Huvishka noted for his alms house (Puṇyaśālā) in Mathurā and definitely a devotee of Śiva, and Vāsudeva—his name speaks for himself. Surely, it would have been very difficult for a barbarian race, nomadic in spirit and warring in nature to be so easily acceptable and assimilable in the socio-religious scheme. The people must have been in close touch with Indian religion and thought and were not unaware of the Indian spiritual values.

Conclusions:

It is, therefore, probable that the Kushāṇas lived somewhere near Bactria or to the south of it, and were a part of the ancient Saka stock. They were known as the Tocharians or Tukharas. While the Kushāṇa rulers do not use the tribal epithet, the Indian sources continue to name them as Tushāras. As an important Yab-gou, they owed temporary allegiance to the Yueh-chi, consequent to their (Yueh-chi) conquest of Ta-hia, but later on they asserted themselves, consolidated their position, and managed to push their way south-east, where, defeating the last Greek ruler, the Kushāṇa chief Kujula Kadphises managed to set up a foot-board for his son's conquest of India. This contention may not be accepted as final but it approaches the truth nearer than the Mongoloid origin theory which is not warranted by the available material, not excluding even the Chinese annals.

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1. The term Kushāṇa in its proper significance has been subject of discussion among scholars. Several slightly different forms are noticed. The Greek coin legends of Kadphises I give Koshsanu and Khoshansu while the Kharoshṭhī form is *Kushāṇa* or *Khushāṇa*. In the Indian Kharoshṭhī inscriptions one finds *Gushaṇa* or *Khushaṇa*. Those in the same script from Central Asia have the forms *Kushana* and *Kurshaṇa* (*Khar* Ins. 79, 136, 193, 198 etc. Sten Konow: *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (henceforth CII Vol. II part I. p. xlix). The famous Māt Inscription (near Mathurā) mentions *Kushāṇaputra* (*Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, henceforth *ASI. An. Rep.*) 1911-12 pp. 12ff. The Chinese Annals refer to *Kuei-Shuang*, while in the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitīka* of *Kumāralāta* King Kanishka is stated to be of the family of *Kiu-sha*, evidently *Kusha* according to Lüders (*Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍitīka des Kumāralāta*, Leipzig, 1926. p. 67, quoted by Sten Konow.-ibid). The word *Kushāṇa* is taken by Baron A. Von Stael Holstein to be the genitive plural of *Kusha* (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*— henceforth *JRAS*-1914. pp. 79ff). According to Manchen-Helfen, whether *Kushāṇa* was genitive plural or an adjective, as supposed by Sten Konow (*Journal of Indian History*—henceforth *JIH*-1933. pp. 643ff; CII. p. xlix) the existence of a short form *Kusha* (Kushi) cannot be doubted. It is the name by which the Kushāṇas were known to many of the peoples with whom they had direct or indirect relations. He also compiled various forms of *Kusha*, and names of Kusha towns. (*Journal of American Oriental Society*—henceforth *JAOS*—65. pp. 74ff). In India these were known as *Kushāṇas*. The Manikiāla inscription mentions the expression *Gushnavasasaṁ-*

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vardhaka—evidently a scion of the *Gushaṇa* or *Kushāṇa* family (CII. p. 149). For a fuller list of variations, ref. Fleet. *JRAS*, 1914. p. 396. Konow: *Epigraphia Indica*—henceforth *EI*-April 1918. p. 288). K.P. Jayaswal considered Kushāṇa to be the personal name of the founder of this dynasty-Kujula Kadphises (*Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*—henceforth *JBORS*—XVI, 1930. p. 256.

2. Oxford History of India, 2nd ed. pp. 126-27, quoted by Prof. Basham (*Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies*, London—henceforth *BSOAS*-1953, XV/1. p. 30). This is a modification, and definitely an improvement on his earlier statements: "the date of Kanishka, and in consequence the relation of that monarch, as well as that of his predecessors and successors, to the facts of known history. Conjecture was busy, and assigned for the accession of Kanishka various dates ranging over a period of more than three centuries and a quarter, from B.C. to A.D. 278." (*JRAS*. 1903.p.2.).
3. *Begram, Researches archaéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans. Mémoires de la Délegation archaéologique francaise en Afghanistan*, tome XII, Cairo, 1946 (Henceforth *Begram*). See also *Fouilles dé Begram—Journal Asiatique*—henceforth *JA*. 234. pp. 59ff.
4. A Marico, *La grande inscription de Kanishka et l'étéo-tokharian*. JA. 246. pp. 345ff.
5. A comprehensive Bibliography on the subject might not be out of place here. Cunningham was the first person to tackle this problem, (*Archaeological Survey Report*—henceforth ASR. II. p. 68 note; III. p. etc.) for the Vikrama era theory, followed by another contention that the Kushana inscriptions must be dated in the Seleucidan era, and the accession of Kanishka be placed in A.D. 80 (*Book of Indian Eras*. p. 42). Sylvain Levi suggested about B.C. 5 as the beginning of the reign of Kanishka (*JA*. Nov.-Dec. 1896: Mai-Juin 1897 pp. 62, 66, 82—*Notes sur la Indo-Scythes*). According to Boyer Kanishka's accession might be later than A.D. 90 (*L'époque de Kanishka-JA*. Mai-Juin 1900). The Bhandarkars placed Kanishka's accession in A.D. 278 (*Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*—henceforth *JBBRAS*—1900). D.R. Bhandarkar later on gave up his old views on the subject and suggested A.D. 128 as the initial year of Kanishka's era (*IC*. VII P. 140n). Fergusson and Oldenberg's theory that Kanishka was the founder of the Saka era in A.D. 78 (*Indian Antiquary*—henceforth *IA*-X. 213) resting, according to Smith, on 'very substantial arguments' was commonly regarded by English writers (and a good many Indian historians as well—Ref. Raychaudhari: *Political History of Ancient India*—henceforth PHAI-3rd ed. p. 321) as a truth substantially probable to warrant its adoption as the chronological basis for Indian history between the Maurya and the Gupta periods' (JRAS. 1903. p. 3). A full dress debate on the date of Kanishka in which many historians participated in 1913 is recorded in the pages of the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. Another debate on the subject was recently organised by the School of Oriental and African studies, London, in which historians from many countries participated (Proceedings not yet published). Among the supporters of the second century theory for Kanishka's accession may be mentioned Vincent Smith. C. 120 A.D. (*Early History of India*—henceforth *EHI*—4th ed. p. 271; Marshall. 128 A.D.: *A.S.I. An. Rep.* 1929-30. pp. 55-57) Sten Konow, A.D.125. CII. p. lxxv. The author of the present work suggested c.A.D. 144 as the date of Kanishka's accession and the beginning of his era. (*IC*. VIII. p. 91ff). According to Mrs. Lohuizen-de leeuw, Kanishka ascend the throne between A.D. 71 and before A.D. 86. (*The Scythian Period—An approach to the History, Art, Epigraphy, and Paleography of North India from the first century B. C. to the 3rd century A.D.*—henceforth—*the Scythian Period*) p. 64. Ghirshman suggests A.D. 144 as the beginning year of Kanishka's era (*Cahiers D'historie Mondiale-Journal of World History*. Vol. II. No. 3, 1957 pp. 698—henceforth *Cahiers*. The views of other scholars agreeing with one or the other on the date of Kanishka's era would be quoted later on in proper context.
6. Holstein—'*Was there a Kushāṇa race?* .*JRAS*. 1914 pp.29ff.; *Koshano and Yuehchi Berichite de Berlin*, 1914. p. 643. The Chinese version of the *Sūtrālaṅkāra*. *IA*. 1903 p. 386. for discussion on the subject and problems connected with it, see Fleet, *JRAS*. 1914 pp. 990ff; Sylvain Levi. *ibid*. pp. 1019ff; Thomas, *ibid* 1915. pp. 532ff; Sten Konow. *EI* 1918 pp. 288ff. *On the Nationality of the Kushāṇs*. (*Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft henceforth*—ZDMG, 1914. pp. 85 ff. A Meillet et Reichelt in *Indogermanisches* Jahrbuch, 1913; Laufer: *Language of the Yech-chi* Chicago, 1917.; J. Charpentier: *Ethn-stellung der Tocharen, ZDMG* 1917, pp. 347ff; F.W.K. Muller. *Tochari und Kursah*—AC.

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Berlin, 1918; S. Lindquist: *Zum Tochari Problem Monde Oriental,* Upsala 1918; Grousset; *L'Historie de l' Extrème Orient.* I. pp. 59ff; Louis de la V. Poussain: *L' Inde Aux temps des Mauryas*—henceforth *Poussain: L' Inde*)—pp. 307 for consolidated references. See also our paper on *'The Nationality and Original Habitat of the Kushāṇas* (*IC.* VIII. pp. 91ff); Sten Konow also discussed the various views on the subject in his *Corpus* (p. 1). The latest is Otto-Maenchen-Helfen who suggests that the Kushāṇas=Kusha were Saka nobles in the Yueh-chi race, and he places their home in the Tokharian region of Chinese Turkistan (*JAOS.* 65. p. 71 ff.).

7. Quoted by Poussain, *Op. Cit.* p. 303 on the basis of the manuscript of the Chapter on the Kushāṇas contributed by Thomas for the *Cambridge History of India* Vol. II (still unpublished). The same views are expressed in Grousset. *Op. Cit.* p. 58, and sources cited on that page as well as on page 60.
8. ZDMG 69, 176 and Konow SBAW. 1916, 799. Luders thought it to be an Iranian title adopted by the Turks. SBAW 1922, 260 cf. Konow A.O. III. 68.
9. *Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk.* p. 48, Konow. CII Pl.
10. *Op. Cit.* p. 176.
11. *Op. Cit.* p. 799; CII. pl. According to Poussain the forms are *Kozoula, Kozola* in the Greek legends of his coins, and *Kujula* in *Kharoshthi; Kuyula-Kaphasa* forms are word evidently the same as *Kusulaka* of *Satrapa Laika* of the Moga inscription (*Op. Cit.* p. 269). *Gusura* is an official title in the documents of *Khotan* (Op. cit. p. 304). As regards *Yavua, Yavuga* (*Kharoshthi*), *Zaoou* (Greek) associated with the Kadphises, he presumes that it was a transcription of the Chinese *hi-hieou,* ancient pronounciation *Yab-gou.* The word *Yap-gu,* according to this French Scholar, in the documents of Khotan was perhaps a proper name. Later on among the oriental Turks, it was a title of the chiefs (*Op. cit.* p. 304— quoting Chavannes, *JA,* 1897, p. 49 also Konow (*A.O.* III p. 66):
12. JRAS 1912 p 670. Sylvain Levi drew attention to the statement in Hemachandra's *Abhidhānachintamani* 959 that the Turks are *Śākhis* i.e., use the royal title *Śākhi,* where Śākhi is evidently written for *shāhi,* (*Turushkas ti śākhyaḥ syuḥ*) the title used by Kanishka and his successors in Brāhmī inscriptions (J.A. IX, IX, 1897, p. note: CII pl.).
13. Stein: *Serindia* p. 1361.
14. According to Tarn, number five of five Yueh-chi princes (*Yabgu,* he spells it *Yabghu*) is not a typical Iranian number, but was a dominant number in China where it occurs with the same monotonous regularity. He suggests it (as a guess and a Turki element; the word *Yabghu* is Turki (*Greeks in Bactria and India*—Henceforth only *Tarn*— 2nd ed. p. 288).
15. VII Vol. p. li.
16. A comprehensive bibliography of the Chinese sources is given by Poussain (*Op. cit.* pp. 328ff)— quoted here with additions.
P.de Mailla. *Hist générale de la Chine t.* III Richthofen; *China-, Marguart Ernshar nach der Geographie des Ps Moses Xoranaci. Abh de Gottingen* (III, 2), 1901; Chavannes, translation of *Seu-ma-Ts'ien's account:* Toung-Pao II. VIII p. 189ff. *Documents sur les Turcs occidentaux* St. Petersbourg 1903, *les pays d'occident d'après le wei-lio,* Toung-Pao 1905; *Trois generraux chinois de la dynastic des Han,* T'oung-Pao 1906;—*les pays d'occident* d' *apres le Heou-Han*) T'oung-Pao 1907; *les documents chinois de couverts par* Aurel Stein, 1913; Hirth, *The Story of ChangKien,* JAOS 1917, Wylie; *Notes on western regions* (First Han). *Journal Anthrop. Institute,* 1880-1881; Kingsmille,; *Intercourses of China with Eastern Turkestan in the Second Century B.C.* JRAS, 1882, p. 82, De Groot; *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit,* 1921: *Die Westlande Chinas,* 1926 (published by O. Franke): Franke,: *Beitr. aus chineischen quellan zur Kennitniss der Turkwolker und Skythen,* 1904, (I.A., 1906 p. 33, 47); *Spcehet; Etudes sur l' Asie Centrale,* JA, 1883, II pp 324; *Notes sur les Yue-tchi,* 1890, I, 180; *Les Indo-Scythes et l'epoque de Kanishka,* 1897, II p. 152-; *Levi; Notes sur les Indo-Scythese* J.A. 1897, I. -, A.M., Boyer, *Époque de Kanishka,* J.A. 1900, I. p. 526.
The Chinese sources are noticed by all the savants who considered or contributed on the date of Kanishka. References to their contributions would be made at the proper place.
17. *Tozai-Kotsushi rouso* 42-47; quoted from Maenchen-Helfen Op. cit p. 72.
18. *A propos des Ta Yue-tche et des Kuuei-chouang, Bulletin de la Maison franco-Japonaise* 1933, 1-11.
19. *Notes on Indo-scythian chronology.* (Journal of Indian History). JIH. 1933. 13-14.
20. *Tokharian et Koutchien.* JA 1934-38.

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21. *Zur Ue-tsi-frag* 257, note 7.
22. *The Greeks in Bactria and India* (2nd ed. p. 287. note 4). According to him, the new theory which makes of the Yueh-chi princes (the Kushāṇa chief being one) five Śaka princes of Bactria conquered by the Yueh-chi, throws the plain account in the *Hou-Han-Shu* overboard. The theory is one more unhappy offshoot of the elementary blunder which started the belief in a Saka conquest of Greek Bactria (Tarn p. 283).
23. Op. cit. p. 72.
24. The view that *devaputra* was an imitation of the Chinese Imperial title *T'ien-tzu* has been refuted by F.W. Thomas. Justification cannot be found for its Chinese origin in view of the very widespread notion of divine descent of kings and emperors. *Devaputra* is an Indian term, not invented by, or for, the Kushānas. It occurs in the inscription of Bharhut long prior to the Kushānas Lüder's List Nos. 774, 814—*B C. Law Volume II* p. 81ff.).
25. According to Maenchen-Helfen, the Kushāṇas spoke Śaka, The language of their coin-legends in pure Khotani Saka. *Sten Konow, Norske Tidskrift for Spragvidanokap* 1939.10). Halsouns objection (*Zur ue-tsi frage* 257, note 7) that the Kushāṇas might have used the Saka language as the legitimate successors of the Saka rulers in North-west India can be summarily dismissed. The Kushānas never adopted their Śaka language in Bactria (Op. cit p. 73).
26. CII Vol. II pt. I p. Li.
27. *Zur nordarischen Sprache und Literatur,* Strasburg 1912; quoted by Sten Konow, *ibid.*
28. *Memoires de la societé Linguistique*, 18, 1913 pp. 89, Sten Konow. Op. cit.
29. SBAW, 1913, pp. 466 ff; 1919, pp. 734 ff.
30. WZKM, 26, p. 395.
31. Op. cit. p. Lii. He has presumed that King Kanishka began to use Sakish in writing. Buddhist works were being translated from the Kuishan language into that of Barchuq, i.e. the present Maralbashi near Yarkand, and other translations from the same language into Tochrian and thence into Turkish. But it was not known where the Kuishan language was used. (see note - p. Lii).
32. As regards the location of the *Ta-hia,* according to *Shi-ki* (Chap. 123, fol. 6f), *Ta-hia* was situated more than 2000 li south-west of *Ta-wan* (Ferghana) and south of the Wei water (Oxus). The farmers had towns and houses and they had the same customs as the *Tawan.* The people had no supreme ruler, and the various towns appointed minor chiefs. The soldiers there were weak and feared warfare, but the people were skilled in trading and marketing. After the Yueh-chi conquest with the capital at Lan-shi, the five principalities, each under one hi-hou depended on the Ta-Yueh-chi. According to the *Hou-Han-Shu* the Yueh-chi divided the Ta-hia empire between five hi-hou.

    According to Tarn Lan-chi (Alexandria) was the capital of the Ta-hia, i.e. Bactria (Hirth p. 98) and subsquently, after they occupied Bactria, of the Yuen-chi (*Hou-Han-Shu*). Spect first saw that Lan-chi was Alexandria (JA 1897 pp. 159-6. Groot makes it Pan-Ku's *Kann-si* (p. 96). Tarn questions Chhavannes and Konow. He suggested that historically, Lan-chi cannot possibly be anything but Bactria (Op. cit. p. 115-n.l.)
33. Xi. 8.4. According to Tarn, the conquest of the Ta-hia (Bactria proper) was the work of the Yueh-chi. But almost every modern writer attributes that conquest to 'Sacas' driven southward by the Yueh-chi, who are supposed to have occupied the country until the Yueh-chi expelled or subdued them. Chang-Kien knew nothing about this, and there is no scrap of evidence for its existence. A misunderstanding of a simple passage in Strabo, was responsible for it, until one writer after another made it an obsession with the various forms of Saca'—Sacarau, Sae, Sai-wang, even Tochari, pressed into service. Strabo mentions Saca occupation of Bactria, but, according to Tarn, the most cursory perusal of the context shows that throughout the whole section he is talking, not of the second century B.C., but of a long time before that—he calls it Achaemenid, the seventh century (Op. cit. p. 280).

    Apollodrous attributes the conquest of the Bactrian kingdom to four nomad peoples, Asii, Pasiani, Tochari, and Sacarauli. Trogus attributes it only to two Asiani and Saraucae though subsequently he mentions the Tochari.
34. Strabo XI.8.2. According to Mrs. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, in the passage from Justinus "*Saraucae et Asiani Bactra occupavere et Sogdianos,* there seems unanimity that the Yueh-chi are Tocharians and that the Asiani, alias Asii, are the Yueh-chi, or at least their dominating stratum. (*The Scythian period*—p. 38). At another place she suggests that the Asii remained also known outside their

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boundaries as Tochari=Tukhara (p. 43). Some scholars make a distinction between the two. Tarn thought that the name *Asii* was the same as Arsi (Op. cit.) found by Sieg in much later 7th century documents. Van Windekens suggests that the word Arsi meaning 'white' was used to indicate the rulers of the Tochari, and subsequently the people over whom they ruled (quoted from *the Scythian period*—p. 43). Some scholars identify the Asii with the Wu-sun (Charpentier Degulines and Couvreur) (Op. cit.). Prof. Bailey explains *arsi* as Sanskrit *Ārya*, and the Asii as a people related to the *Ossetes* or As in South Russia (BSOAS VIII 1935-37 p. 912). The passage quoted by Strabo makes it very clear that the conquest of Bactria was a historical event which was a turning point resulting in the movements of the tribes settled in or near that region and pressed by some external agencies. It, however appears from the classical accounts that the occupation of Bactria was a transitory phase with its changing hands till we find Mithradates I occupying it and displacing its new rulers.

The identification of the Tocharians has also been a subject of discussion. The Chinese sources are enumerated by Sylvain Levi. A Chinese Sutra refers to the simultaneous domination of Yapono (Yavana=Greeks) in the north, the Che-Kia (Saka=Scythians) in the south, the Po-la-po (Pahlava=Parthians) in the west, and the Tein-cha-lo (Tochares) in the east. The comparison of *Vibhāsha* and of *Nanjio* 1085 suggests the identification of Yueh-chi with the Tocharians (Teou-kiu-le). The Tukhāras, Tochares, Chinese Touo-houo-luŭ in relations with the Yueh-chi and Ta-hia have been considered by scholars. Richthofen with whom Levi agrees, (JA 1897 I p. 10) identifies the Tochares with the Yueh-chi, placing them at Khotan. According to Marquart, the Tochares are the Ta-hia living in the country which Hiuen-tsang called old Tou-hou-lo or Tokharistan in the middle Oxus., 300 kilometres to the east of Khotan. Frank suggests that they were neither the Ta-hia nor the Yueh-chi but those whom the Yueh-chi conquered in old Tou-hou-lo. Stein finds no relation between the emigration of the Yueh-chi and the old Tou-hou-lo. Truly speaking the Tochares were known to the west as early as the time of the Assyrians when the Yueh-chi were unnown. A comprehensive bibliography on the problem is given by Poussain *Op. cit.* p. 338. Stein reviews the diverse opinions in his *Serindia* p. 287: for the original views see *Rémusat, Remarques sur l'extension de e' empire Chinois du côte de l'occident sous les Tang;* Vivian de St. Martin:*Mémoires sur les Huns blance,* 1850 p. 233); Yule; *Hiuen-Tsang's account of the principalities of Tokharistan* JRAS 1873 p. 92; Von Richthofen, *China* 1877, I, 439; Vascouncellos-Abreu,*Muséon,* 1883, Marquart, *Eransahr* p. 200 Frank, *Turkvolker* p. 24.

35. Sten Konow. Op. cit. p. xxi.
36. Ibid p. xxii.
37. P. C. Bagchi discussed the problem of Central Asian nomads in Indian history in his Presidential address to the Ancient India Section I, Indian History Congress Session, Aligarh 1943. The references to Tukhāras in ancient Indian texts —Epics, Purāṇas and the two Buddhist works are quoted by him. Poussain mentions the sources referring to the Tukhāras, earlier in his work (Op. cit. p. 337). The coupling of the two names Śakas and Tushāras in Indian Epic and Puranic texts (*Mahābhārata,* Bombay Text II, 51, 1850; III 51, 1997; etc. *Harivaṁśa* I. S.20 (311) is significant. In the *Mārkandeya Purāṇa* they are mentioned immediately after the Chīnas as populous races of men outside. Pargiter has collected all the references to the Tukhāras (*Mahābhārata Sabha* P. I 1850) and *Rāmāyaṇa* (*Kish. K.* xliv.15). The *Vayu Purāṇa* reads Tushāras (xlv.118) as they are mentioned in the Mahābhārata (*Van.* P. li, 1991; *Śānti* P. lxv. 2429 etc.). The two names, according to him, seem to mean the same people. They were an outside northern race bordering on the Himalayas (*Vana* P. clxxvii-12350). In the *Harivaṁśa* they are classed along with the Śakas, Dardas, Pallavas etc. and considered to be Mlechas and Dasyus (cxv, 6440-42). Lassen identified them with the Tochari, and placed them on the north side of the Hindu Kush (Indo-Alt. map)— Pargiter: *Mārk Purāṇa Trans.* (p. 320).
38. Pliny and Ptolemy mention them as Thocari and Tuchari respectively living to the north of Caspiri or Kashmir. According to Prof. Bagchi, the Ta-hia of the *Han* annals was pronounced in early times as *D'a(t)-ga* and stood in all probability for the Dogar or Tukhar which appears in the fifth century as *Tu-ho-lo, T'u-xuo-la.* The king of the country sent ambassadors to China.
39. CHI p. 564.
40. *History of the Gurjara-Pratihāras* Chap. I. p. 4.

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CHAPTER II

THE KADPHISES

The two Kadphises Kushāṇa rulers—father and son—preceded the other Kushāṇa family headed by Kanishka. The other viewpoint on precedence once held by Fleet and Kennedy[1] has been finally set at rest. The archaeological evidence from Taxila is decisive on this point.[2] To trace the history of this first Kushāṇa family, one has to consider the evidence adduced by the *Hou-Han-Shu,* or the annals of the second Han dynasty, covering the period after A.D. 25,[3] the three Kharoshṭhī records,[4] of the time of Gondophernes dated in the year 103, the Panjtar inscription of the year 122, and the Taxila silver vase record dated in the year 136. Besides these, the coins issued by the two rulers of this group[5], Kujula Kadphises and his son Wima Kadphises and their find-spots, and associated portraits depicted on them, have much to tell about these rulers, and are also helpful in corroborating facts relating to them from the other two sources. The assessment of the source material, and the details adduced from it are expected to present a picture of the life and achievement of Kujula Kadphises—the grand-old man, without shadowing the personality of this octogenarian's son—Wima Kadphises—the real conqueror of India. The two rulers between them seem to have enjoyed a fairly long years of rule which may not be as detailed and decisive, as that of the other group, but is equally interesting. We propose considering the dates of these rulers connected with the old era and its initial year, since the three records are dated in it, Kujula's achievements—his conquests, and contact with Hermaeus and Gondophernes, the extent of his kingdom, Wima Kadphises and his conquests, and the appointment of Satraps, the relations of the Kadphises with Rome and China, the problem of Soter Megas, and lastly the interlude between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, and the role of Jihoṇika or Zeionises. These historical facts await proper consideration and evaluation in this Chapter.

The Sources:

The passage in the *Hou-Han-Shu,* the annals of the later Han dynasty, also furnishes information relating to the integration of the five *hi-hou,* a hundred years after the division. The *hi-hou* of *Kuei-Shuang* attacked the four other *hi-hou,* and styled himself king. His kingdom was named after the original division—*Kuei-*

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Shuang. The annals further describe his exploits. He invaded An-si and seized the territory of Kao-fu, moreover he triumphed over Po-ta and Ki-pin[6] and entirely possessed these kingdoms. He died more than eighty years old and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-Chen. He again conquered Tien-chu and appointed a general there for the administration. As the *Hou Han-Shu* deals with the events happening in and after the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55), Kujula Kadphises' conquest could not, therefore, have taken place before the year A.D. 25.

The Epigraphic evidence relating to this family of the Kushāṇas seems to be confined only to the three records mentioned above. The first record, dated in the year 103 of the same era, and also in the year 26 during the reign of Mahārāja Guduvhara[7] (Gondophernes) on the first day of the month of Vaiśākha, records the pious gift of Mira the saviour, together with his son and daughter, in honour of Prince Erjhuṇa Kapsha, in honour of his mother and father. It is presumed that the prince Kapsha was Kujula Kadphises, who seems to be at that time not a ruling sovereign, but a prince. His relation with Gondophernes has to be considered later on.

The Panjtar (Matraban-range)[8] inscription, dated in the year 122 of the same era on the first day of the month of *Śrāvaṇa*, in the reign of the Gushaṇa Great King (*Mahārayasa Gushaṇasa*), refers to the eastern region of Ka-sua being made an auspicious ground by Moika, the Urumuja Scion. Fourteen years later, the Taxila silver scroll inscription[9] records dedication in the year 136 on the 15th day of the first month Āshāḍha. The relics of the Lord were established by Urasaka of the Imtavhria boys, the Bactrian, the resident of the town of Noacha. This was done for the bestowal of health on the Great king, the king of kings, the son of Heaven, the Kushāṇa (*Mahārājasarājātirājasa devaputrasa Khushanasa*). As these records do not mention the name of the ruler, but only that of the family (*Kushāṇa*), one might easily presume if the other Kushāṇa family of Kanishka was implied here? But the records of Kanishka and his successors are dated from the year one onwards, and that, too, not exceeding two digits. So these two records mentioning the Kushāṇa ruler suggest only Kujula Kadphises who was a plain ruler in the year 122, and, in natural sequence, the other record suggests that in course of 14 years he had carved out a sufficiently big kingdom extending as far as Taxila, thus entitling him to the use of bigger appellations.

The coins issued by Kujula Kadhpises,—in association with Hermaeus,[10] and independently, sometimes carrying the portrait of

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some Roman emperor, very probably Augustus, though Allan presumes[11] it to be nearer to Claudius, -are helpful in reconstructing the history of the Kushāṇa Kujula Kadphises—particularly with reference to his conquest of Kabul (Kao-fu of the Chinese annals) and the displacement of the Greek power. The Numismatic evidence is very helpful in reconstructing the political history of that period.

The Date of Kujula Kadphises and the Old Śaka Era:

The date of Kujula Kadphises can be fixed only with reference to the fixation of the initial year of the old Śaka era in which the three Kharoshṭhī records are dated. It has been pointed out earlier that these records are applicable only to him or, at the most, the last one to his son, but not to the other family. Scholars have tried to grapple with this problem of the old Śaka era[12]—its initiation and initial year, and are at present nearer general agreement, though they are not unanimous in their conclusions. The fixation of the initial year on the basis of astronomical calculations[13]—intercalary *Śrāvaṇa* in the year 134 (*Ajasa śrāvaṇasa*), and intercalary *Āshāḍha* (*Ayasa āshāḍasa*) in the year 136, as recorded in the Kalwan and Taxila silver scroll inscriptions, has set at rest Konow's contention that the initial year of the old era on the basis of the calculation in the second record, could be 84-83 B.C. as calculated by Van Wijk. Konow's views on the eras in the Indian inscriptions have been inconsistent. Marshall's contention that the era is associated with Azes, noticed as *Ayasa* or *Ajasa* in the two records was questioned by R.D. Banerjee who considered it to be *Āryasya.*[14] This era seems to be associated with some event of national importance. It is interesting to learn that out of 23 Kharoshthī records bearing dates recorded and calculated by Sten Konow,[15] only the Taxila copper plate inscription of Patika is dated in the Greek calendar month Panemos. The rest are dated in the Indian months with the only difference that the dates are calculated from the full moon without reference to the bright (*sukla*) or the dark (*krishṇa*) half. This method of dating was something foreign. It is presumed by Dr. Lohuizen-de-leeuw[16] that the commencement of the old era synchronises with the conquest of Bactria by the Yueh-chi in about 129 B.C. This, again, seems unacceptable in the light of the fact that the era seems to be connected with an event of national importance, with the Indian months noticed in practically all the records. It is now generally accepted that all the Kharoshthī records are dated in the era of 58 B.C.[17] This would give Kujula Kadphises dates ranging from 45 A.D. -78 A.D., if the last record of 136 is also associated with him. The dates would also fit in well with the Chinese, as well as with the archaeological evidences. It has been mentioned earlier that

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the annals of the second Han dynasty (*Hou-Han-Shu*) cover the events happening in and after Kien-wu period (A.D. 25-55).

The reference to Kapsha, evidently accepted as Kujula Kadphises in the Taxila copper plate inscription of the year 103, and also 26 of Guduvhara (Gondophernes) fits in the scheme or dating. Accordingly Kujula Kadphises was only a Prince or Kumāra, if Konow's etymology of *erjhuna alysānai,* later *eysānai* i.e. *alzanaī, ezānai* used in the old Saka language of the Khotan country in order to render Skt. *Kumāra* is accepted.[18] In the year 122 of the old era=64 A.D. he sets his foot in North-west India as a King (*Mahīrāja*) and for fourteen years he consolidates his hold and expands his territory, as is evident from the use of the higher appellations—*Mahārāja rājātirāja devaputra* in the Taxila record of 136. His names still does not appear but only the family name Kushana or Khushana is noticed as in the earlier record (*Mahārājasa Gushīṇasa rajmi).*[19] Scholars who think Kanishka to be the founder of the Śaka era of 78 A.D. associate this record with Wima Kadphises, immediately followed by Kanishka. Thus within a period of 33 years A.D. 45-78, the career of the octogenarian Kujula Kadphises —as a prince, a conqueror and ruler, and his son's reign and all events including the conquest of India, (*Tien-chien*) are placed. We shall discuss this problem at great length in proper perspective and at the right place. Here we can only presume that this is not impossible but improbable. The Khalatse[20] inscription probably connected with Wima Kadphises (*Uvima Kavthisa)* of the year 187 has to be taken into account which would extend Wima's reign till 129 A.D., followed by that of Jihonika of the Taxila silver vase inscription[21] of the year 191 = 133 A.D.

Kujula Kadphises' Conquests: The conquests of Kujula Kadphises are mentioned in the annals of the later Han Dynasty—the *Hou-Han-Shu,* and these can be traced in the finds of his coins, the two Kharoshṭhī records of 122 and 136, and the association of this ruler with Hermaeus. After reducing the other *hi-hou* Kujula Kadphises is stated to have invaded *Ansi*—the usual name for Parthia. This was followed by seizing the territory of Kao-fu and the triumphant march over Pu-ta and Ki-pin which kingdoms came under his possession. An-si, according to Sten-Konow,[22] implied the Parthian dynasty in the east to which Guduvhara or Gondophernes belonged. It has been mentioned earlier that Kujula Kadphises is called a prince or Kumāra in the year 103, and the 26th year of Gondophernes. This could be his regnal year. Gondophernes was not the last Parthian ruler. Coins of Abdagases who is styled as *Guduvharabhrādaputra mahārājasa (tradarasa) Avadagaśasa*

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on the reverse of his coins have been found in western Punjab.[23] Another coin of this ruler bears the epithet *Mahārājasa Rājātirājasa*.[24] The coins of King Pacores came from Kandahar and the country to the west of Bhakar.[25] The coins of Pacores and the Kushāṇa Wima Kadphises were found in an earthern jar at Sirkap by Marshall, with some coins with the portrait and symbols of Guduvhara and legends in Greek and Kharoshṭhī.[26] According to Rapson, even in the reign of Gondophernes, the allegiance of the governors to the suzerain was becoming merely nominal. The existence of any independent Parthian suzerain in North-western India after Guduvhara is not borne out by the finds of the coins. Philostratos' account of the Apollonius of Tyana of about A.D. 44 mentions Phraotes as the ruler of Taxila at that time identified by Herzfeld with Gondophernes on the basis of the similarity of the name with the title *apratihata*.[27]

These facts suggest that Kujula Kadphises gave the blow to the Parthian empire of Gondophernes, and occupied the Kabul (Ko-fu) region where the coins of Pacores or Abadagases have not been found. This must have happened after A.D. 45 and between A.D. 64, the dates of the Takht-i-Bahi and the Panjtar records respectively. The hoard found by Marshall in the remains of Sirkap contained coins of Gondophernes, Pacores and Kujula Kadphises which suggest that Kujula Kadphises had taken Taxila from the weak successor of Pacores. The Taxila Silver Scroll inscription of the year 136=78 A.D. mentioning *Mahāraja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kushāṇa*, seems to point to Kujula Kadphises.

It would, therefore, appear that Kujula Kadphises actually measured swords with the Indo-Parthians. He seems to be friendly with Gondophernes or the casual reference to him in the Takht-i-Bahi record might be only a diplomatic move to assess his chances. Very probably he was marking time. The western portion of the Indo-Parthian empire of Gondophernes was first conquered by him. This was probably done before the year 122. Gondophernes'[1] successors might have been given a little lease of existence very probably as feudatories of Kujula Kadphises, but a show of independence by assuming the higher title of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* by Abdagases must have cost him his throne with the Kushāna empire extending upto Taxila. This seems to have happened before 136=78 A.D. The second phase of Kujula Kadphise's conquest as recorded in the *Hou-Han-Shu* namely the triumph over *Pu-ta* and Ki-pin points to his conquest of Taxila and the adjoining regions to the east of Indus and probably the north-east portion. Smith[28] quoting Sylvain Levi and Sten Konow, gave up his earlier views

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identifying it with Kashmir, and now suggests its identification with Gandhāra, including Taxila and Takht-i-Bahai.

Kujula Kadphises and Hermaeus: The relations between the two have been assessed by scholars in different ways. As the names of Hermaeus and the Kushāṇa king Kujula Kadphises are associated together on a series of coins,[29] their alliance has been a subject of discussion among scholars for a long time. There have been earlier instances of joint-issues, and it was therefore supposed by Rapson that Hermaeus was the earlier ruler whose name appears in Greek on the obverse with his bust, and that of Kujula Kadphises, the Kushāna Yavuga in kharoshṭhī on the reverse. He was immediately succeeded by the latter,[30] Thomas, on the other hand, supposed a gap between the two covered by the Pahlavas who were actually in possession of Kabul during this intervening period,[31] which view was endorsed later on by Rapson,[32] and accepted by Marshall,[33] Konow[34] and Tarn.[35] The last historian, however, suggests that Kujula Kadphises was a descendant of the Kushāna Yavuga Miaos (or Heraos—the name is said not to be certain) who calls himself 'Kushan' on his coinage.[36] He had married a relative of Hermaeus. When he invaded the Paropamisade, he proclaimed to the Greeks that he came, not as a foreign conqueror, but as their lawful ruler by hereditary relationship to the last king Hermaeus. The coins were, therefore, the dry bones of that propaganda to conciliate the Greeks, still a formidable force in Kabul.[37] The earlier theory of Rapson presuming an immediate relation between Hermaeus and Kujula, the latter succeeding the former is pressed by Mrs. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw[38] who has pushed back Kujula Kadphises in the first century B.C., connecting his dates in the three records in the era of 129 B.C. It has, however, been shown earlier that Kujula Kadphises conquered Kabul (Kao-fu) from the Parthians and not from the Greeks. The relation between Hermaeus and Kujula Kadphises does not seem to be that of blood, as presumed by Tarn, nor can it be presumed that Hermaeus was immediately succeeded by Kujula Kadphises. Bachhofer presumes that[39] Hermaeus will still be reigning in the second decade of the first century A.D., rejecting his identification with the Yen-mo-fu. of the *Chien-Han-shu* and the evidence it affords of his having come to the throne before 48 B.C. According to his chronological set up, he crowds in his second decade not only Vonoes, Spalahores, and Spalagadames, but also Spalirises and Azes II. as well as part of the reign of Hermaeus, to which list Marshall also adds by implication Azilises, the immediate predecessor of Azes II.[40]

Kujula Kadphiss and the Western World: The conquest of Parthia (An-si) and Kabul (Kao-fu) must have brought this Kushā-

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ṇa ruler in closer proximity with the Romans and the western world. As he depicts the busts of Hermaeus with the legend in Greek on a set of his coins, one also finds him imitating the bust of the Roman emperor on a well-known coin.[41] The identity of this Roman emperor has also been a matter of disputation among scholars. The usual contention is that the type was borrowed from a coin of Augustus[42]. Allan, taking the evidence on the reverse, reproducing the well-known Roman deity curule chair type, suggests that Kujula imitated a coin of Claudius[43] *(accession A.D. 41)*. It is suggested by Prof. Basham that[44] Kujula's coins certainly bear a closing striking resemblance to that on some of the *denarii* of Augustus. Although coins of Claudius are the earliest closely to resemble those of Kujula both on obverse and reverse, it is surely not impossible that Kujula's moneyers incorporated elements from more than one type. We are, however, interested in the contact which seems to have been established between the Kushāṇas and the Romans, which might have been purely on a commercial level. Roman coins were the legal tender of merchants from the west. That too accounts for the imitation of the gold standard of Augustus[45] by Wima Kadphises

Kujula Kara Kadphises: The Chinese annals of the later Han dynasty give a long lease of life to Kujula Kadphises. He lived up to the age of 80, and was succeeded by his son Yen-Kao-Chen. There is no intermediary between the father and the son. But a new type of coin was found by Sir John Marshall,[46] with the bust of a king 'resembling Wima Kadphises and a corrupt Greek legend on the obverse, and the reverse showing a Nike and the Kharoshthi legend *Mahārājasa rājātirājasa Khushaṇasa Yavugasa.* Another group of coins[47] have on the obverse a humped bull and an illegible Greek legend, and, on the reverse, a two humped Bactrian camel with a Kharoshṭhī legend of slightly varying wording: *maharajasa rajatirajasa Kuyula Kaphasa, maharajasa mahatasa Kushana Kuyula Kaphasa. maharajasa rajarayasa, devaputrasa Kuyula Kara-Kaphasasa, and maharayasa rayatirayasa Kuyula Kara Kapasa.*[48] The names Kuyula Kaphasa and Kuyula Kara Kapasa in the same type of coins created doubt among scholars[49] about their identity or separate individuality.

Rapson considers them to be different, and Kujula Kara Kadphises (Kuyula Kara Kapa etc.) seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvatī, and he may have been contemporary with Wima Kadphises. Marshall, however, presumes[50] that these coins were issued by Wima Kadphises. He interprets *Kara* as the equivalent of Kala which was used later on in Turkestan with the meaning 'prince', and that the coins with the

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humped bull of Śiva on the obverse, and a Bactrian camel on the reverse with the legend *Maharayasa rayarayasa devaputrasa Kujula Kara Kaphsasa* and other variants were probably issued by Wima Kadphises as crown-prince during his father's life-time.

Sten Konow presumes[51] that the use of the imperial title precludes the idea of the issuer being a subordinate ruler. The additional *Kara* of which the meaning itself is not very clear cannot prevent us from ascribing these coins to Kadphises I. A Sirkap coin of Kadphises I, showing the bust of Hermaeus on the obverse seems to have the Kharoshṭhī legend...*juta kara dharmathi*,[52] and this can be no other person than Kujula Kadphises. Sometimes the very word 'kara' is absent from the coins in question[53]. One may agree with Marshall that Kujula Kadphises might have retired from active campaigning, and left it to his son after A.D. 60 when he was probably between sixty and seventy years of age. But it would have been very unusual for the crown prince to issue coins in his name. Marshall himself admits that in that case a coin with the bust of Hermaeus and Heracles and the legend *Kujula Kara dharmathidasa* might also been issued by Wima.[54] It is not proper to associate a particular set of coins with Wima Kadphises on the interpretation of the word *kara* of which the meaning is not very clear, nor can we assume the existence of another Kadphises when the Chinese annals are emphatic about only two Kadphises rulers. We might, therefore, agree with Sten Konow in identifying Kujula Kadphises with Kujula Kara Kadphises.

Wima Kadphises: The second Kadphises king succeeded his octogenarian father. The Chinese 'annals of the later Han Dynasty' the *Hou-Han-Shu*, suggest[55] that he again conquered India and appointed a general there for the administration. Mrs. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw. presumes[56] on the strength of the discovery of a hoard of coins at Sirkap consisting of coins of Gondophernes, (Pacores Pukura) and Kujula Kadphises that the Indian conquests of Kujula east of the Indus were lost, and later reconquered by Wima Kadphises. According to Konow,[57] the word rendered, as 'again' in this passage, be translated as 'further', 'in his turn', since there is no indication in the *Hou-Han-Shu* of a previous conquest which was repeated by *Yen-Kao-Chen*. The conquest implied in the Chinese account and attributed to Wima Kadphises seems to be a further extension of his father's empire and not a reconquest of the lost territory in the north-west of which there is no evidence. The description of the country given in *Hou-Han-Shu* seems to point to the Indus country, the kingdom T'ien-chi is also called Shen-tu, which can refer to Sindh, the ancient stronghold of the Saka empire in India.[58] The reconquest of the Indus region, if the translation is literally taken, might be

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suggestive of the second Saka conquest noticed in the *Kālakachārya-Kathānaka*.[59] According to this account, the Sakas of the Indus country conquered Surāshtra and Mālava shortly before the beginning of the Vikrama era; they were ousted by Vikramāditya, but after a lapse of 135 years a new Śaka came and re-established the Śaka dominion. This would mean that the era of A. D. 78 could be associated with Wima Kadphises, if there be no overlapping of dates, and the relationship between Wima Kadphises and the Śaka Kshatrapas of western India be traced. It might here be pointed out that the term Śaka has been used in a very laxy manner, and we have suggested earlier that the Kushāṇas might have been the descendants of one of the Sakas mentioned by Herodotus.

Wima Kadphises and his accession: Unfortunately not a single record of Wima Kadphises has been found, though some scholars attribute[60] the Taxila inscription of the year 136 to him, while Sten Konow presumes that the Khalatse inscription is dated in the year 187 of Mahārāja Uvima Kavthisa—evidently Wima Kadphises. The very reading of this record is questioned by Rapson[61] who considers it conjectural affording "a very insecure foundation for the far-reaching conclusions of Sten Konow". It is also considered unlikely that any record of Wima Kadphises should be found at Khalatse, a village in Ladakh, 52 miles below Leh on the trade route. The death of Kujula Kadphises and the accession of Wima Kadphises may, however, be placed in the year 136=78 A.D. but those who advocate that Kanishka was the founder of the Śaka era club the two Kadphises kings between A.D. 45 and 78, and assign a period of only 14 years to Wima Kadphises. It is presumed by them that the Kushāṇa ruler of the Panjtar record was Kujula Kadphises, while that of the Taxila inscription was Wima Kadphises, who was immediately followed by Kanishka. This is simply based on the assumption that Kujula having died at the age of eighty, could not have left a young successor, but one who too must be sufficiently aged and could not have lived longer. This may or may not have been a fact, but one thing appears certain, namely a gap between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka. This point we shall discuss in detail when we consider the problems connected with Soter Megas and Jihoṇika. If Kanishka could have succeeded Wima Kadphises, in 78 A.D., there seems no reason why the same privilege of being the founder of the Śaka era might not be accorded to Wima Kadphises, and his succession placed in that year. The *Hou-Han-Shu* annals which cover the period only between A.D. 25 and 125 show an intimate knowledge of the events in the west and give us a precise account of the reigns of Kujula and Wima Kadphises, but have nothing to say of the much more famous Kanishka.[62] The

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number of years given to Wima Kadphises seems too little for his extensive conquests, and for the abundant and widespread coinage of Soter Megas, as Marshall points out,[63] to say nothing of that of Wima Kadphises himself especially if Kujula's own coins were in use for some years after the conquest of Punjab.

Relations with the Śaka Kshatrapas: The relations of Wima Kadphises with the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India—the family of Nahapāna and Chashtana whose records are dated in the Śaka era, can be ascertained in the light of the two accounts from the *Hou-Han-Shu* and the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, and from the records of the Śaka Kshatrapas themselves. It has been suggested earlier that the annals refer to Yen-Kao-chen (Wima Kadphises)'s conquest of Tien-chi or Shen-tu which could be Sindhu or Sindh and this could be the second Śaka conquest recorded in the *Kālakāchāryakathānaka*, culminating in the founding of the Śaka era. The main criticism against Wima Kadphises' claim as the founder of the Śaka era, is the use of the old era in his own records. This does not appear to be a valid argument. We are not sure if the Kushāṇa ruler of the Taxila record is Wima Kadphises. It appears more probable that it was Kujula Kadphises who did conquer the Gandhāra region, as is evident from the account in the *Hou-Han-shu*, and from the finds of his coins in abundance in Taxila.[64] Secondly it is more in natural sequence that the Mahārāja Khushāṇa of the Panjtar record, should use higher appellations—*Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra* after his extensive conquests to the east of the Indus. The reading of the other record, namely the Khalatse inscription, is open to serious doubts, according to Rapson himself, the ardent supporter of Kanishka as the founder of the Saka era theory. So that argument fails, and Wima's claim seems a little stronger. It would be interesting to suggest that the Mandsor inscription of the time of Kumāragupta[65] is dated in the Vikrama Saṁvat and not in the Gupta era. So, even if we presume that the Kushāṇa ruler of the Taxila record was Wima Kadphises and not his father, the non-use of the old Saka and not his own era, cannot *ipso facto* reject his claim as the founder of the Śaka era.

Inscriptions refer to two families of western India that of Nahapāna and Chashṭana, who use Śaka era in their records. The descendants of the second one were conquered and their territory annexed by Chandragupta II in 388 A.D. The last Śaka Kshatrapa of this family was Rudrasiṁha III whose coins are dated in the year 310=388 A.D.[66] The other dynasty of the Western Kshatrapas included Nahapāna and his son-in-law Ushavadāta who calls himself as Śaka[67] and uses the śaka era in his inscriptions and on his coins. Now the question arises: were they owing allegiance to a

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common overlord who initiated the śaka era, or one was the subordinate of the other? The other possibility seems out of question since both Nahapāna, and Chashṭana are Kshatrapas becoming Mahākshatrapas in course of time, as we shall see below.

Taking the family of Chashṭana first, his coins are undated and he has not left any dated record. The coins show him first a Kshatrapa and then a Mahākshatrapa.[68] His son Jayadāman was only a Kshatrapa[69] and seems to have predeceased his father. Chashṭana is associated with his grandson Rudradāman. The Andhau records[70] and the Junāgarh inscription[71] dated in the year 72=150 A.D. shed light on the political history of these rulers. Rudradāman, who boasts of his extensive conquests is mentioned as a Mahā Kshatrapa, on his coins and in his inscription. He had attained this position himself (*svayamadhigatā*). Like Chashṭana, Nahapāna too was a Kshatrapa first and then a Mahākshatrapa. The assumption of the higher title in course of time seems to have some significance—it might imply the assertion of independence from the overlord or his (*Kshatrapa's*) promotion to the higher position by the overlord. The overlord does figure in both the cases.

Examining the case of Nahapāna on the basis of his inscriptions and coins we notice two significant words *kuśanamūla and suvarṇa* in one of his records[72] Senart interpreted the first one as corresponding to *padiko* of the Kanheri inscription[73] in the context *chivarika solasaka vārasaka padiko cha māse utkāle*. According to him, it meant a monthly stipend given to a monk during a certain period of the year for his food. D. R. Bhandarkar,[74] however, considered Kuśana like *Padiko* signifying a specific coin. He thought it to be the name of the silver coinage of Nahapāna, especially issued under the instructions of some one who could be identified with Kuśana=Kushāna family. It is also mentioned in that record that 35 Kārshāpanas or the silver coins were equivalent to a *Suvarṇa* or gold coin which was introduced for the first time by Wima Kadphises.[75] This specification of the ratio between the gold and silver coins is possible only if the two types were current in that area. It appears very likely that Nahapāna was a feudatory of the Kushāna ruler whose gold coins were current in his kingdom with that much of autonomy and independence to issue silver coins in his own name. The assertion of the higher title of Mahākshatrapa might be an implication of the meaning of the powers of the overlord or actually a political change in that direction.

There is still another point worth consideration. In the Nāsik record of Ushavadāta, there is a reference to his going to conquer the Mālavas at the command of the overlord (*Bhaṭṭāraka*).[76] This word could not have been used as an epithet for Nahapāna who is

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mentioned in that record as a Kshatrapa, its reference could be only to the overlord of Nahapāna as the meaning of the word signifies.

Coming to Chashṭana, according to Bhagwan Lal Indraji,[77] he was a contemporary though not a subordinate of Nahapāna while Fleet assumed[78] that he was Nahapāna's co-regent or Viceroy at Ujjain, just as Bhūmaka was in Kathiawar. Oldenburg[79] and Burgress[80] regarded Chashṭana as the Kshatrapa of Gautamī putra Śātakarṇi. As regards Indraji's theory, no explation is needed since he said nothing about the relations between the two. Fleet's theory is far from being satisfactory. It is highly improbable that the co-regent or the Viceroy of a certain person would assume the same titles used by his overlord. Both Nahapāna and Chashṭana were Kshatrapas first and Mahākshatrapas afterwards. With the use of the same set of titles by both, it is difficult to suggest if Chashtana was the overlord of Nahapāna or *vice-versa*. As regards the third theory of Oldenburg and Burgress the legends on Chashṭana's coins—in Greek and Kharoshṭhī point to the region of his overlord in the North where these scripts were used. Rapson[81] and Smith[82] have, however, hinted that he was a Kshatrapa of some Kushāṇa king without mentioning his name.

The relation between Chashtana and Nahapāna *vis-a-vis* their Kushāṇa overlord, very probably Wima Kadphises, may be traced even to their predecessors. Nahapāna's father Bhūmaka uses the titles *Kshaharāta Kshatrapa*[83] while Nahapāna is called *Rājan Ksha harata* on his coins, *Rājan Kshaharāta Kshatrapa* in his inscription of the year 42, and *Rājan Mahākshatrapa Svāmi* in the record of 46[84]. Nahapāna's position, therefore, appears to be a little more independent than that of Bhūmaka who was the earliest known member of that dynasty. Chashṭana, on the otherhand, is characterised as the son of Ysāmotika, determined from the Saka word *Ysama* 'earth'. Sten Konow,[85] agreeing with Sylvain Levi[86] identified Ysāmotika with Bhūmaka. It is presumed that Ysamotika=Bhūmaka must have been the first Kshatrapa appointed after Wima Kadphises' reconquest. We may not agree with Levi and Konow regarding the identity of the two—Ysāmotika and Bhūmaka, because the inscription of Balāśri[87] refers to Saka-Yavana-Pahlava and the Kshaharāta as four separate political units, but it seems very likely that Chashṭana and Nahapāna were owing allegiance to some Kushāṇa monarch who seems to be Wima Kadphises.[88]

There is still another point which needs clarification. If Nahapāna and Chashtana, whose records are dated in the year 42,44, 46, and 52 respectively were feudatories of Wima Kadphises are we to presume that the initial year of the era of these records dates back to Wima Kadphises' conquest of Shen-tien or Sindh? Even if Kujula

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Kadphises died at the age of 80, it is not improbable for him to have left his son and successor Wima Kadphises, a young man of 35 or so, who too might have ruled for 40 years or a little more. The influence of the overlord was waning and that is evident from the use of the bigger titles including that of *Rājan* by both these Kshatrapas. It is quite likely that Wima Kadphises might have been appointed at first a single Viceroy for the conquered territory, but with the expansion of his empire, the need was felt for additional Viceroys or deputies. In fact another deputy was very probably Soter Megas whose identity remains to be determined.

Wima Kadphises' empire & Soter Megas: Wima Kadphises seems to have ruled for a fairly long time. Those scholars who consider Kanishka to be the founder of the Śaka era, try to fit him between 64 A.D. & 78 A.D. But actually he seems to have started in A.D. 78 and continued to rule till about 125 A.D. a period of little more than forty five years, with Nahapāna and Chashṭana as his deputies in south-western India though with a greater degree of autonomy, and Soter Megas as his deputy in the north. The extension of Wima Kadphises's empire in Madhyadesa seems evident from the extensive finds of his coins, in larger number as far as Basarh, Bhita and Kasia.[89] The seated image of the Kushāṇa emperor (Kushāṇaputra) called Vamatakshama at Mathurā is supposed by Jayaswal[90] to be that of Wima Kadphises, taking Kushāṇa as the personal name of the first king Kujula Kadphises. Though we may not agree with the view of the late scholar, the extension of Wima Kadphises's empire as far as Mathurā or even upto Sāranāth may be agreed upon, although his coins have been found as far as Basarh in the Muzaffarpur district. It is very likely that he may have appointed a deputy for this part of his empire. His name is not mentioned anywhere. He could be Soter Megas whose coins were found extensively in the Punjab, in the Kandahar and Kabul regions, and as far as Mathura in the east.[91] According to Rapson,[92] these coins show a symbol of the kind which is characteristic of Wima Kadphises, and it could hardly be doubted that they were related to him, in point of time. Whitehead[93] also drew attention to the fact that these coins were found in extraordinary abundance, and over a wide stretch of territory extending from Peshawar to Mathurā, pointing to a longer reign and greater strength. The style of the coins, in Copper only, and the absence of the square form, according to Whitehead[94] point to a period near about the Kushāṇa conquest, making Soter Megas the contemporary of one of the two Kadphises rulers. Whitehead also suggests that these coins were struck by more than one ruler, and the different types represent different loca-

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lities though such rulers might have been subordinate to a single sovereign.

Sten Konow[95] endorsed the suggestions of Whitehead, and agreed with Cunningham in taking the letter *vi* on some coins as connoting the initials letter of the suzerain's name. So *vi* probably stood for Wima Kadphises. Marshall[96] thought that there was an interval between Wima Kadphises and it was conceivable that the Soter Megas coins covered both the reigns of Wima Kadphises and that interval or part of it. The coins with the letter *vi* chiefly represented the issues made during Wima's reign.

The relations between this second Kadphises Emperor and the nameless ruler is unmistakably assumed by scholars[97] on the basis of the close association of their coins and the strata in which these were found. Common peculiarities noticed in both sets of coins are the use of the same title in Greek on the obverse, a circular margin composed of reels and pellets in place of the native legends, the holding of a club before the face, and the use of the peculiar form of Gandharian letter j with a small stroke to the right at the foot of its starting vertical stroke. Two unique coins in this connection deserve attention here. Of these one is single specimen of copper without legends but bearing the symbol of Wima Kadphises together with a symbol which is probably that of Soter Megas. It is in poor condition with three prongs instead of the usual four as on Wima's coins. In another unique specimen noticed by Cunningham[98] two heads appear on a single bust with the respective symbol of Wima Kadphises and the nameless king. It, therefore, appears that both must have been contemporaries, and related to each other in some form, either as the overlord and the deputy, or as the conqueror and the vanquished, but the latter one being associated later on as the vassal of the former. In this connection two Brahmi inscriptions from Mathura deserve notice.

Luders in a paper in the Era of the *Mahārāja* and the *Rājātirāja* published in D. R. Bhandarkar Volume,[99] refers to two inscriptions dated in the years 270 and 292 or 299, found respectively at Girdharpur and the Kankali Tila. According to the late German Professor, these two records are dated in the Parthian era of 248-7 B.C., their dates corresponding to A.D. 23 and 45 or 52 A.D. He presumed that there were Parthians at Mathurā who had immigrated during the rule of the Kshatrapas. Although converted to the Jain faith they upheld the traditions of their country. This nameless ruler of the two Mathurā records seems to precede Wima Kadphises in point of time, while Soter Megas may have lived even after Wima Kadphises, as his coins suggest. It would, there-

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fore, be difficult to identify the two—namely the ruler of the inscriptions with that of the coins, but it is quite likely that the latter might have been the son and successor of the former, who followed the family tradition of remaining *incognito,* as one finds in the two Kharoshthi records, but agreed to adhere allegiance to the Kushāṇa monarch after his conquest of Northern India. Soter Megas, the nameless ruler enjoyed autonomy of issuing coins following the pattern and style of his overlord with the initial letter *vi* symbolising the suzerainty of his overlord Wima Kadphises. This seems to have lasted till the time of the death of his master, when he too assumed complete independence. That accounts for the absence of that letter in other set of coins. It also appears likely that between Wima Kadphises, and Kanishka, there must have been a gap of some years in which the local chiefs in different parts of the Kushāṇa empire assumed complete independence, and, very probably, they tried to extend their hold over other portions of their master's territory, consolidating what was already in their possession.

Wima Kadphises and his relations with China & Rome:

The Kushāṇa empire, under Wima Kadphises, seems to have extended from Banaras (Vārāṇasī) in the east, to the frontiers of Parthia, and included, according to V. A. Smith[100] the whole of the countries now known as Afghanistan, Turkestan, Bukhara, and parts of Russian Turkestan. It was, therefore, natural for this Kushāṇa monarch to have contacts with the Romans and the Chinese on political and commercial levels. According to Dion Cassius[101] many embassies came to Augustus and the Indians having previously proclaimed a treaty of alliance, concluded it now with the presentation, among other gifts, of tigers, animals which the Romans saw for the first time. Florus who wrote in the days of Trojan (A.D. 98-117) refers to the arrival in Rome of a great many embassies, and especially from the Indians.[102] The political relations were augmented by the commercial ones. Wima Kadphises was the first Kushāṇa ruler to introduce gold coins, evidently for trade facilities, and adopted the Roman weight standard *aurei* of 124 grains.[103] The pouring of Roman coins in India is also mentioned by Pliny,[104] as is evident from numerous finds extending over many years. More details about relations between India and Rome are not known.

With the Chinese, Wima Kadphises seems to have had an uncomfortable deal. General Pan-chao's victorious march in Central Asia, and Wima Kadphises's success in Northern India seem to have added to their aspirations, and a clash between the Kushāṇas and the Chinese was likely. General Pan-chao led an army from victory to victory, which, according to Douglas,[105] carried their country's

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flag to the shores of the Caspian Sea. The king of Khotan submitted in A.D. 73, followed by several other princes, opening the southern edge of the desert to the arms and commerce of China. The northern road was thrown open with the reduction of Kucha and Karashahr. This was naturally a cause for alarm to the Kadphises ruler who demanded the hand of a Chinese princess which was refused by the General and the envoy sent was arrested. The Kushāṇa ruler despatched a formidable force of 70,000 cavalry under the command of his Viceroy Si, across the Tsung-ling range or Taghdumbash Pamir to attack the Chinese. The Kushāṇa army shattered by its sufferings during the passage of the mountains lost to the Chinese forces under Pan-chao and the Kushāṇa ruler was compelled to pay tribute.[106] The annals of the later Han dynasty record the arrival of several missions bringing tribute in that period. This insult to the Kushāṇa ruler seems to have been retrieved by Kanishka who defeated a Chinese vassal ruler of Central Asia, and kept his sons as hostages, as recorded by Hiuen-tsang.[107] The evidence shedding light on the Indo-Chinese relations is only one-sided, but is worth mentioning.

The Intruders in Kushāṇa History: The death of Wima Kadphises seems to have taken place about A.D. 125 or so. If the Khalatse inscription is attributed to him, then he continues for another four to five years. He does not seem to have left any successor. Epigraphy and Numismatis corroborate the evidence from the Chinese annals. It is presumed by Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw[108] that Jihoṇika whose inscription of the year 191 and coins (called Zeionises) have been found in Taxila, was his nephew and successor. The latter part may be correct, but the other part in the statement is based on inconclusive evidence. We shall discuss the position of Jihonika in greater detail. It seems that the death of Wima Kadphises was a signal for the Kshatrapas in northern, central and south-western India to declare their independence. In the south-west it might have been done even earlier. Zeionises or Jihoṇika in the north awaited Wima Kadphises's death. His coins bear the title *Rājan,*[109] suggesting his assertion of independence. The tottering Kushāṇa empire paced the growth of disruptionist tendencies. The Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India had to rely on their own resources in their clash with the Āndhras. The absence of any reference to the Kushāṇa overlord in the Andhau & Junagarh inscriptions, and Rudradāman's boast of his attaining the power and position of Mahakshatrapa himself (*svayam=adhigatā mahākshatrapa nāmanā*) point to the loss of the Kushāṇa hold over northern India after Wima Kadphises and before Kanishka.

Jihoṇika was ruling in Taxila in the year 191 = 133 A.D. The

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text of the inscription[110] runs as—ka 1|100 20|20 20|20 10|1 *Mahārāja (bhrā) ta Mah (ṇi) (gūla) asa putrasa Jihoṇikasa Chuksasa Kshatrapasa.* This inscription recorded on a silver vase was found during excavations at Sirkap by Marshall in 1926-7. Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw presumes[111] that the vase was dedicated by Jihonika, as suggested by the use of genitive in the inscription. The ruler was the same Mahārāja Rājātiraja. Konow takes him to be a ruler[112] who stepped in after Wima Kadphises' demise in the position similar to what had happened after the death of Moga, but met with little success. According to Rapson,[113] Kujula Kara Kadphises seems to have succeeded the Satrap Zeionises in the kingdom of Pushkalāvati, and he may have been contemporary with Wima Kadphises. Whitehead[114] considered Jihonika as belonging to the dynasty of Gondophernes and therefore a Parthian. According to Lohuizen-de-Leeuw,[115] the coins of Jihonika display only the round form of sigma and omikron, it seems impossible to insert Jihonika before Wima Kadphises, and we are forced to date him later. She considers Jihoṇika, son of Maṇigula, the brother of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja as the nephew and heir presumptive of Wima Kadphises. This is confirmed according to her by Ferishta in the introduction to his History[116] as well as *Mujamal-ut-Tawarikh.* We, however, feel that the reading of the inscription is open to serious doubts. We can only infer that Jihonika seems to have had connection with some royal family. The first letter in *Mahārāja* is clear. It would be unwise to build speculative theories on evidences which are more than thousand years later.

It may, therefore, be suggested that there was a gap of some years, may be of a decade or a little more,[117] during which time there was no strong ruler acting on the Indian political stage. Disintegrating forces were widely awakened. The Satraps, at one time owing allegiance to the Kadphises ruler—Wima, were now independent. Zeionises of Taxila, very probably Śivasena of Abhisāra,[118] Soter Megas in Mathura, and the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India of the family of Chashtana and Rudradāman, were having their own way. The Kushānas in Taxila seem to be awaiting the arrival of their kinsmen from Turkestan under Kanishka, thus paving the way, once again, for the integration of the disruptionist tendencies in India. It took him no time to achieve this with the Satraps—owing allegiance to him as far as Sarnath.

The first phase of the history of the Kushānas thus ends, and the other chapter begins afresh with the establishment of the new Kushāṇa empire under Kanishka.

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1. The views of both these scholars are noticed in the Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society. 1913 pp. Fleet held, as Cunningham had at one time, that Kanishka began

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to reign in B.C. 58 and founded the so-called Vikrama era (ibid p. 914). According to Kennedy, 'A study of Hellenism in the East had convinced me that Kanishka must be assigned to the first century B.C.' As we are generally agreed that Wima Kadphises flourished C.A.D. 50-75, it follows that the hundred years of the Kanishka dynasty must have preceded him (JRAS 1913 p. 922). The obsolete view of Kanishka as the founder of the Vikram Samvat, pressed by Fleet and Kennedy, was revived by D.N. Mukherji (I.C. I 1935 p. 477) on some astronomical calculations. We shall consider this point in the next chapter on Kanishka.

2. The stratification at Taxila shows that the Kushāṇas were the immediate successors of Gudavhara's dynasty, a fact corroborated by the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions as well. The passing of Pahlava rule in eastern Gandhāra (Takshaśilā) is illustrated by the remarkable hoard of 21 small silver coins which was found by Sir John Marshal in an earthen jar on the ancient site of Sirkap. The coins belong to four distinct classes—two to the reigns of Pacores and Wima Kadphises (CHI Vol. I p. 580). Sir John has tabulated the results of all the finds of coinage (ASI. An.Rep. 1928-29 p. 64).
3. The *Hou-Han-Shu* or the Annals of the later Han were written by Fan-Ye, who died in A.D. 445. He states, "The notes which Pan-Ku has written on the configuration and the manner of the various (western) countries are detailed in the book of the older (Han); now I have chosen what in the events of the period Kien-wu (A.D. 25-55) or later was different from what has already been said formerly, and I have compared the chapters on the western countries, or that, all the facts have been related by Pan-yung at the end of the reign of the emperor Ngam (A.D. 107-125). These annals were translated by M. Chavannes (Tousg-Pao II, viii, pp. 187 ff, quoted from *Corpus* Vol. II (1) p. liv).
4. The Takhti-i-Bahi inscription dated in the year 103 mentions *Erjhuna Kapa* (CII p. 67 1.5), According to Rapson, every syllable of the reading is open to question, and in the circumstances, it is difficult to believe that Prince Kapa is anything more than a phantom, thus vanishing any reference to Kujula Kadphises in this record of Gondophernes (JRAS. Jan. 1930 p. 190). The other two records are the Panjtar (CII pp. 67 ff) and the Taxila silver scroll (ibid pp. 70 ff) of the year 122 and 136 respectively.
5. Whitehead—*Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum Vol I.* Gardner—*Catalogue of Greek and Scythian Kings in the British Museum.*
6. According to Hirth, An-si is to be correctly philologically identified with Antioch (Dikshit ABORI. xxviii p. 134) whether the name An-si itself be Antioch (Merv) or (spelling it An-sik), Arsok, has been much discussed. According to Tarn, all the countries in the Report are names of peoples, and there is no reason for supposing that in one case a King's name was used, especially as the report knows nothing of the Parthians proper, the aristocracy. To Pan-ku, An-si was originally Antioch-Merv, Parthian being a derivative meaning. This is confirmed by *Merv* (Mou-Lou being called little An-si in the *Hou-Han-Shu* (Chavannes, *T'oung.—Pao* VIII. p. 177) (Tarn—p. 281. n). Pu-Ta (pronounced *Puk-d'-at* in the Tang period—Karlgren Nos. 760, 956) has not been identified. As regards Ki-pin, Rapson presumed that this geographical term was used in various senses by Chinese writers (CHI p. 567). Levi concluded long ago (JA 1915 p. 162) that the Chinese mixed up Kapisa and Kashmir in their Ki-pin. Tarn presumes that the word meant the Kushāṇa empire, which included Kapīśa and Kashmir, but the Chinese had the word long before the Kushana period. To Pan-ku personally, Ki-pin meant the Saka realm in India (See Herzfeld—*Sakastan* p. 32). Ki-pin must be treated as *die politische d einheit des Sakareichs.* Pan-Ku, having transferred the Ki-pin name of Kabul to the Saca kingdom, introduced a new name for Kabul (*Kao-fu, Kao-phou, Ko-hu*) and wrongly made it the domain of the one of the five Yabghus of the *Yueh-chi. The Hou-Han-shu* pointed out the error. (Tarn Op. cit. p. 473n).
7. The association of *Kapa* or *Kujula Kadhpises* with Gondophernes is based on this record of which the reading has been questioned, as pointed out earlier. (Rapson-JRAS. 1932 pp. 188-90). According to S.K. Dikshit, the two inscriptions of 103 and 122 (since they both mention a Maharaya) make it probable that Guduvhara and Gushana belong to one and the same dynasty (ABORI. xxxiii p. 128). This view seems to ignore the successors of Gondophernes, as also the evidence from the Chinese annals. It is, however difficult to explain the presence of Kujula Kadphises in the court of Gondophernes, if we accept

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Konow's reading and explanation of the word 'Erjhuna Kapa'. The year 26 might be the regnal year of the Mahārāja Guduvhara or of some unidentified era.

8. CII p. 67. The inscription was first published by Cunningham JASB. xxiii, 1854 p. 705, reproduced and discussed by Dowson (JRAS. xx. 1863. pp. 233 and 265) and quoted by E. Thomas (JRAS, New series ix, 1877, p. 9). It was referred to by Smith (JASB xii, 1. 1893 p. 85, JRAS 1903 p. 41), Senart, Bühler, Banerji, Fleet, Holsein, Konow and Majumdar (full references in CII. p. 68).

   The reference to the word 'Gushanasa', as the genitive singular of Gushana is interesting, the word also occurs in the Manikiala stone inscription (Konow, *Op. cit* p. 149 1.2) of the year 18 of Maharaja Kaneshka (Kanishka). The *Daṇḍanāyaka* Lala is described as *Gushanavasasamvardhaka,* 'the increaser of Gushaṇa or Kushaṇa family'. Lala was probably a scion of the Kushaṇa race.

9. The silver scroll bearing this Kharoshthī inscription was found during excavations in Taxila by Marshall in one of the Chambers to the west of the Dharmarājika Stūpa of the Chir mound. The inscription was edited by Marshall (JRAS. 1914 pp. 973 ff; 1915 pp. 191 ff—ASIAR. 1912-13 pp. 18 ff), Boyer (JA. xi-v. 1915 pp. 281 ff.) and Konow (SBAW, 1916 pp. 803 ff. EI XVI pp. 284 ff), CII p. 7-ff) Various interpretations have been given by Thomas, Fleet, Bhandarkar, Woolner, Chanda, Deb. Rapson and Lüders. (References quoted from the Corpus p. 71). The location of the place where this record was found and the era used in it, are conclusive in ascribing it to the Kadhpises ruler, very probably Kujula, though some press the claim of Wima Kadphises.

10. A comprehensive study of the Hermaeus Kujula Kadphises coins has been made by Tarn. (Appendix 17). The Kadphises coins of much inferior style, resembling the debased copies of Hermaeus money issued after his death fall into two classes: The first class has on obverse bust of Hermaeus diademned and Greek legend Basileōs Soteros Hermaiou (often corrupted); reverse, Heracles facing with club and lion's skin, and the Kharoshthi legend *Kujula Kasasa Kushana Yavugasa.* This class has only the square omicron but no other square letters. The second has: obverse bust of Hermaeus diademed and a Greek legend usually mutilated, reading 'Kujula Kadphises Kushan,' reverse, the same as in the first class. In the third class, a strange copper coinage (BMC p. 172, *Lahore Cat* p. 85 Nos. 682-82) obverse, bust of Hermaeus with the Greek legend similar to class I, reverse, Nike holding the wreath and a Kharoshṭhī legend *Maharajas Rājārajasa Mahatasa Hermayasa.* According to Marshall, the coins of Hermaeus found in Sirkap fall into three classes, i.e. (1) 28 specimens of the type "Bust of King and Zeus enthroned (2) two barbaric imitations of the foregoing. (3) 263 specimens of the type "Bust of king and Nike. He suggests that the first of these was no doubt issued by Hermaeus himself. The second might have been made by forgers. As to the third Tarn attributes them to Kujula Kadphises, and explains them as propaganda coins. Bachhofer says that this type was always, and correctly, considered to be the last of Hermaeus who appears there as an old man JAOS Dec. 1941). Neither of these views, according to Marshall, is correct. The fabric, design, and find-spots, and associations of these coins all combine to indicate that they were issued by one of the Śaka or Parthian rulers who followed Hermaeus in the Paropamisade. (JRAS April 947 p. 25).

11. Cambridge Shorter History of India, 1934 p. 74.

12. The problems of the eras is discussed in *extenso* with reference to previous studies in her work. *The Scythian Period* pp. 1 ff. It is now generally accepted that the Kharoshṭhī records are dated in the year of B.C. 58, known as the Vikrama era (Tarn *op. cit* p. 348; Konow JRAS 1932 pp. 950-2; JIH xii, 1933th pp. 1 ff. Marshall and Rapson believed it to be the era of Azes (CII pp. 70-1).

13. This idea was first mooted out by Boyer (JA. II serie, tome v, 1915 pp. 281 ff. (p. 287); followed by D.R. Bhandarkar I.A. 45, 1916 ff. 120 ff, Sten Konow and Van Wick A.O. III 1925 pp. 52 ff. CII p. 77 & xci, for the latest view of Sten Konow on the subject. See *India Antiqua* p. 197.

14. The *Aya* months. JBORS Vol. 23, 1937 pp. 261 ff.

15. CII p. xci. On the different interpretation of the word— see Marshall *Ayasa* =genitive of Azes ASIAR 1912-13 pp. 23 ff. JRAS 1914 pp. 973 ff; R.P. Chanda and Sten Konow accepted the Hypothesis of Marshall—JRAS 1920 pp. 319 ff; JRAS 1920 pp. 319 ff; JRAS 1932 pp. 948 ff.) Fleet took the word meaning Asya (JRAS 1915 pp. 531 ff). Earlier he suggested that *Ayasa* was a form of

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Āshādha, name of a month (JRAS 1914 pp. 992 ff). Deo proposed that the term was suggestive of *amānta* month (IHQ xiv.•p. 411 ff).

16. Op. cit p. 50 (Mrs.) Lohuizen believes that the era used in Pre-Kanishka inscriptions in North-west India was founded during this period of Greek expansion, and records the conquest of Bactria.
17. Re. No. 12.
18. The reading and interpretation given by Sten Konow have been questioned by Rapson (*Op. cit.* Ref. 7).
19. Cf. Manikiala stone inscription referring to Lala as *Gushana vasa saṁvardhaka.* CII p. 145 ff.
20. CII 79 ff. Konow's reading of this record has also been questioned by Rapson. All that can be said at present is that Prof. Konow's reading is far from being certain and his identification of this Maharāja with Wima Kadphises is very far from being proved. (JRAS. Jan. 1930 p. 191).
21. CII. pp. 81 ff.
22. Op. cit. p. xii—See note 6.
23. Gardner—BMC p xlv.
24. Whitehead—CPM p. 154.
25. Cunningham—CAI p. 122.
26. ASI An. Rep. 1912-13 p. 44.
27. According to Herzfeld, the name Phraotes could be the same as the word *apratihata* which appears on the coins of Gondophernes, and consequently the Phraotes in Philostratus' 'Romance' is the same person as Gondophernes. Tarn agrees with him (*op. cit.* p. 341) while Mrs. Lohuizen questions it on 'linguistic grounds, and suggests that the name 'Phraotes is the same as one of the two very often occuring Parthian names Phraates or Phraotes (*Op. cit.* p. 353).
28. EHI—p. 267.
29. Ref. Note 10.
30. Rapson: *Indian coins* p. 16. Among the joint issues, the most important instance is that of Azes and Azilises and Azes II. Several rulers imitated the coinage of rulers of much earlier period, as for example, coins of Demetrius by Maues, of those of Eucratides by Liaka Kusulaka, and of those of Stratos by Rāñjuvula.
31. JRAS 1966 p. 19481.
32. CHI p. 561-2.
33. *Taxila* I. p. 52.
34. JIH p. 29.
35. *Op. cit.* p. 338.
36. Tarn gives credence to the story of Yen-mo-fu from the *Chien-Han-Shu* with an air of jubilance that it fits extraordinarily well with in his scheme, He thinks that Hermaeus was Wen-chung's vassal who dislodged the Sakas of Kabul with the help of the Kushāṇa chief Miaos. Hermaeus also gave the Kushāṇa a relative in marriage, probably his sister rather than his daughter. Hermaeus in this way got the whole of Paropamisadae, but as China's vassal, which he subsequently threw off. The Kushāṇa ruler Kadphises I was Miaos' descendant who claimed and conquered the Paropamisadae as the representative by blood of Hermaeus (*op. cit.* p. 343 & Appendix 17). Narain thinks it likely that earlier in his reign Hermaeus lost his possessions north of the Hindukush to the Yuehchi, perhaps to an ancestor of Kujula Kadphises who may have been Heraus. When Kujula conquered the Kabul valley from the Pahlavas, he struck coins with the type of Heracles, which had been adopted earlier by the Pahlava kings PMC. pp. 124, 138, 141 and 143—*Indo-Greeks* p. 160. Bachhofer thinks that Kujula imitated those currencies which were best known and most readily accepted striking pieces with the head of Augustus for the same reason. (JAOS, 1941 p. 240). See also Bataille—*Notes sur la numismatique des Kushana et des Kushanshah summarised* by Henri Deydier in his *Contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhāra.* pp. 250 ff.).
37. Tarn. *op. cit.* p. 507.
38. *Op. cit.* p. 364.
39. JAOS. 1941 p. 340.
40. JRAS April 1947 p. 24.
41. Whitehead PMC pl. xvii. 24.
42. Whitehead *Op. cit.* According to Ghirshman, the monsoon trade with India was discovered during Augustus reign (*Begram* p. 123). This is questioned by Prof. Lohuzen, quoting Thiel, that important discovery was made a century earlier. (*Op. cit.* p. 366. note 155).

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43. Whitehead: PMC Pl. xvii. 24; Ref. No. 11. Allan's opinion that the coin type concerned is indebted to a coin of Claudius (A.D. 41-54) than to one of Augustus seems to be convincing to Narain (*Op. cit.* p. 160. note 7).
44. BSOAS, 1953. xvi. p. 89.
45. The gold standard of Wima Kadphises and the kings after him, was imitated from the Roman *aureus* instituted by Augustus, Kennedy formerly doubted whether the standard of the Indian coins was indeed that of Augustus (JRAS, 1912. pp. 665 ff). It is obvious, suggests Mrs. Lohuizen, that the motive to mint gold coins under Wima Kadphises must be sought for in the enormous influx of Roman coins between the years 27 B.C. until 68 A.D. (dating chiefly from the reign of Augustus, until and including Nero). A copper coin of Kujula Kadphises with the representation of King's head proves that already under this king the stream of Roman gold began to pour in (*Scythian Period* pp. 365-66).
46. ASI An. Rep. 1912-43.
47. Whitehead PMC p. 180. Nos. 16 23.
48. CII. p. lxv.
49. CHI. p. 582; *Indian coins* p. 17, of *Gardner*, BMC p. xlix.
50. JRAS. April 1947 p. 48.
51. CII. p. lxv.
52. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13, p. 52, No. 49.
53. Cunningham N.C. 3rd Series xii, 1892 ff. 65 ff, Konow—*op. cit.*
54. *Op. cit.* p. 28.
55. *Hou-han-shu* Chap. 118, Chavannes, *Les Pays d'occident d'aprés le Heou-Han-Chou, Toung Pao* série 11 tome viii, 1907, pp. 187 sq.
56. *Op. cit.* p. 375-6.
57. *Op. cit.* p. lxvii.
58. Tang pronunciation *Sien-duuk*, (Karlgran Nos. 869, 645). The description of the country as given in the *Hou-Han-Shu* is as follows: 'The kingdom Tien-chu is so called Shen-tu. The kingdom is situated on the banks of a great river. The inhabitants mount on elephants in war; they are weaker than the Yueh-chi. They practise the religion of the Buddha; it has become a habit with them not to kill and not to fight. Parting from Kao-fu which belongs to the Yueh-chi, and turning towards the south-west one comes to the western sea; in the east one comes to the kingdom of Pan-ki, all these countries from part of Shen-tu. Shen-tu has several hundred other towns (besides the capital); in each town a governor has been appointed; there are several tens of other kingdoms (besides the principal kingdom); in each kingdom there is a king. Though one observes some small differences in each of these kingdoms, they are nevertheless all called Shen-tu. At that time (i.e. probably when Pan-young wrote, or towards A.D. 125) they were all dependent on the Yueh-chi, the Yueh-chi had killed the king and installed a general to govern the population (Konow; *Op. cit.* p. lxvii).
59. Jacobi-Das *Kālakāchāryakathānakam* ZDMG, 34 pp. 247 ff; Bhaudaji: The in-*roads of the Scythians into India, and the story of the Kālakāchārya* JBBRAS, IX. 1872, pp. 139 ff. Jayaswal: JBORS. XVI. 1930. pp. 233 ff; Raychaudhuri: *Vikrama Volume*, Ujjain, 1948. pp. 483 ff.
60. CHI p. 481; *Comprehensive History of India* (Co. HI p. 231).
61. JRAS, Jan. 1930 p. 198.
62. Konow: *Op. cit.* p. lxxv. According to Konow, it is a well known fact that Kanishka is not mentioned in the Chinese historical sources, although the Chinese were well aware of the happenings down to about A.D. 125, but not after that time. (Chavannes: *Toung-Pao.* II. viii. p. 150 ff).
63. JRAS. April 1947, p. 30.
64. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. pp. 42, 44, 52; 1914-15. pp. 22, 27 etc. 1915-16 p. 20, 34 Ancient India No. 4 p. 83. According to Marshall, Kujula Kadphises' coins have been found in such large numbers in Sirkap (more than 2500, in all, including 412 of the Kadphises series) that it would be natural to infer that he added Gandhāra and Taxila to his other conquests (JRAS April 1947 p. 27).
65. Fleet. Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum Vol. III pp. 65 ff.
66. *Catalogue of coins of the Western Kshatrapas* p. 192.
67. EI, VIII p. 86.
68. Rapson, *Op. cit.* pp. 65, 72, 73; Luder's List No. 1099, 1131, 1132, 1134 1135 1174 in which Nahapāna is mentioned as Mahākshatrapa (*Rājan mahākhatapa*) *sāmi* (*svāmi*) *Nahapāna;* Chashṭana as a Mahākshatrapa ibid Nos. 963, 965-67. In the Andhau inscription he is mentioned only as a Rājan.

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69. E.I. XVI pp. 10 ff.
70. Rapson—*Catalogue. op. cit* p. 76, Luders List Nos. 963, 964, 966, 967.
71. E.I. Vol. VIII p. 36 ff. Luder's List Nd. 965.
72. E.I. VIII p. 82.
73. A.S.W.I. iv p. 79.
74. IA. 1918. p. 69. Bhandarkar suggested that the word *Kuśana* may be identified with the *Khushanasa* of the Taxila silver scroll inscription, and Nahapāna was at first the Viceroy of Kujula Kadphises and later on of Wima Kadphises. It seems doubtful if Kujula Kadphises could be implied here. His empire never extended that side. There is another point Nahapāna's records are dated in the Śaka era and he was preceded by Bhūmaka. Both of them are mentioned as Kshaharāta Kshatrapas. It seems likely that both owed allegiance to Wima Kadphises. According to Sten Konow, Sandanes of the *Periplus* could be identified with Chen-t'an, as suggested by Levi. This he accepts, but Kumārajīva's pupil Seng-chao replaces it by Yueh-chi-wang, Yue-chi king or prince who may be identified with Wima Kadphises. (IHQ. XIV p. 150).
75. Whitehead: PMC p. 183.
76. Ushavadāta, the son-in-law of Nahapāna could never have used the term *Bhaṭṭārka* for his father-in-law. It would be against the very spirit of their relations. In the socio-religious structure, recognising the hierarchy of the Brahmins for whom he created so many endowments, the son-in-law has definitely a respectable status. In all likelihood, the term seem to be applicable to the overlord of his father-in-law.
77. *Bombay Gazetteer*, I. i. p. 32.
78. JRAS. 1913, p. 993 Note 1.
79. I.A. X p. 226.
80. ASWI. iv. p. 37 ny.
81. Catalogue—p. cvi.
82. EHI. p. 222.
83. Rapson: Catalogue p. 96.
84. Ref. 68.
85. CII. p. lxx; EI XVI ff. 19 ff.
86. JA xi. v. 1915 p. 191.
87. EI Vol. VIII pp. 60 ff, Lüders List. No. 1123.
88. In a thought provoking paper on '*Sandanes, Nahapāna, Chashtana,* and *Kanishaka,* F.W. Thomas suggested that there was nothing to connect Wima Kadphises with eastern India, or with the Śaka era. According to him the coins of the Nahapāna dynasty exemplify three stages of development in the form of s and so cover a long period; the earliest being more or less contemporary with Vonones and Azes. Bhūmaka and the first Nahapāna, he suggests, belonged to the same epoch as the Taxila Mathura satraps (*New Indian Antiquary*-henceforth NIA Vol. VII, Nos. 5 & 6 pp. 85-86). We are unable to agree with the late Professor's suggestion of more than one Nahapāna, and giving them longer period of rule on Paleographic grounds, and finally denying the contemporaneity of Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi with Nahapāna. The Nasik inscription of Balaśrī is very conclusive on this point.
89. Cunningham. ASR II p. 186.
90. JBORS Vi pp. 12 ff.
91. Cunningham NC x, 1890 ff. 115 ff.
92. *Indian Coins* pp. 16 ff.
93. PMC p. 160 ff.
94. Ibid.
95. CII p. lxix.
96. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13, p. 8.
97. According to Bachhofer, the coins mentioning a certain Soter Megas were struck during the reign of Wima Kadphises. He identified Soter Megas with Wima himself. (OZ. IV. 1927-28 pp. 21 ff. Lohuizen-de leeuw agrees with Sten Konow (CII. p. lxix) that Soter Megas was the Viceroy of Wima Kadphises in India, mentioned in the *Hou-Han-Shu* (*op. cit.* p. 375).
98. The unique coin described by Cunningham (NC. 1892. p. 77. Pl. XV, fig 14) which exhibits a bust with two faces, the left being bearded, with the Kadphises symbol in front, while the right face is smooth, with the symbol of nameless king in front, is conclusive evidence of the two princes being contemporary. Cunningham specified the details of agreement. Smith. JRAS. Jan. 1903. p. 31).

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99. p. 288; Lohuizen-de-Leeuw takes the record of 299 to be really 199. She identifies the *Mahārāja Rājātirāja* of this record with Wima Kadphises or a successor of his (*Op. cit.* p. 373).
100. JRAS. Jan. 1903. p. 31. Recent excavations by the Russian archaeologists have brought to light Kushana hold over Chinese Turkestan.
101. McCrindle: *Ancient India* p. 212 Dion Cassius was born at Nicasa in Bithynia, about A.D. 155, when about twenty-five years of age, he proceeded to Rome, where he twice held the consulship. His greatest work *'History of Rome'* contained in eighty books, embraces the whole history down to A.D. 229.
102. Ibid. p. 213.
103. For weights and assays of Kushāna coins—see Cunningham: *Coins of Mediaeval India.* p. 16; Rapson: *Indian Coins* p. 14, 69, 123; Smith: EHI. p. 27 on; For an account of finds of Roman coins in India, See Sewell: JRAS. 1904. p. 591.
104. Hist. Nat. XII. C. 10 (41); McCrindle. *Op. cit* p. 125 Cunningham: *Coins of Ancient India* p. 50. If Wima Kadphises reigned after A.D. 78, there is no difficulty in understanding the fact that his gold coins agree exactly in weight with the *aurei* of the early Roman empire, which, according to the testimony of Pliny and the evidence of numerous finds, poured in India in vast quantity for many years (Smith. JRAS, Jan. 1903. p. 34).
105. *China-Story of Nations.* p. 18. According to Levi. Pan chao's army reached as far the confines of the Roman empire (JA. ix. 1897. p. 50 Smith. EHI. pp. 268-89).
106. As to the suggestion that Wima Kadphises may have been alive at the date 127 A.D.) of Pan-Yung's report and that accordingly the Yue-chi invader of Chineses Turkestan defeated by Pan-chao in A.D. 90, was Wima Kadphises, Thomas thought it incredible. How could the former Han annals give the account of Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises, and afterwards relate the invasion of 90 A.D., without attributing it one or other of them (NIA. Augu-Sept. 1944 p. 100). The argument *ab-silentio* seems no evidence for foisting the defeat on Kanishkha. We shall refer to it again in connection with Kanishkha
107. Beal: *Buddhist Records* I. p. 57. 'After the death of Pan-chao, Kanishka having secured the peaceful possession of India and Kashmir, was in a better position to surmount the appalling difficulties of conveying an effective army across the Taghdumbash Pamir. Kanishka succeeded where his predecessors had failed, and not only freed himself from the obligation of paying tribute to China, but exacted the surrender of hostages, from a state tributory to the Chinese empire (Smith. EHI. p. 278).
108. *op. cit* p. 379.
109. Whitehead *PMC* p. 95.
110. CII. p. 81 ff.
111. *Op. cit.* p. 377.
112. CII. p. 82.
113. CHI. p. 582.
114. PMC. p. 95.
115. Op. cit. p. 379.
116. Eliot: *The History of Indian.* I. pp. 106-110. see also Jayaswal: JBORS. XVIII. 1932. pp. 7-16.
117. According to Marshall, Wima's reign may have lasted into the opening years of the second century A.D., after which there was an interval of a couple of decades or so before Kanishka succeeded him. During this interval there seems to have been some disintegration of the Kushāna power, but it is virtually certain that one or more Viceroys under the name of Soṭer Megas continued to rule the Punjab and north-west on behalf of the absent Kushāṇa lord. Apart from other considerations, the changes in script, language, and design in the coins of the rulers (Wima and Kanishka) point to an interval between them. (JRAS April 1947 p. 32.).
118. The name of Kshatrapa Śivasena occurs in a legend of a copper seal ring found by Baylal in the Punjab and described by Cunningham, but which has since disappeared (CII. No. XXXVIII p. 103).

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CHAPTER III

KANISHKA AND HIS SUCCESSORS

Another milestone in the history of the Kushāṇas begins with the advent of Kanishka to power. He and his successors with their names terminating in *shka (ishka, eshka)* were apparently of the same family or clan-kushāṇas, and they also used the title *devaputra*[1] as did their predecessors. It is, however, being made clear in the last chapter that there was a gap between Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, and it was not a mere take over, as presumed by the advocates of Kanishka and the Śaka era theory.[2] The advent of this set of Kushāṇa rulers to power is characterised by several new features—the inscriptions are dated in an era commencing with the year 1 (?) or 3; these records suggest the great extension of their sovereignty, the coins begin to be minted in gold, illustrated by divinities from different pantheons, and the Greek and Kharoshṭhī writing on the coins are considerably reduced. The close resemblance between the figures of Kanishka and Wima Kadphises in their costume seems to rule out any notable difference of race. Unfortunately the Chinese annals—referring to the two Kadphises rulers—are silent regarding Kanishka, but later pieces of evidence from the Tibetan and Chinese sources—some based on traditions recorded centuries later—might be suggestive of Kanishka's antecedents, his relations with the contemporary rulers of Khotan and other places in Central Asia, and finally his conquest of Northern India—alone or in alliance with his ally or allies.

Kanishka as a little Yueh-chi: According to the Tibetan work —*Li-yul-gyi,*[3] Lo-rgyas-pa, the daughter of the King of *Ga-hjag,* the queen of Vijayasiṁha, king of Khotan, was helpful in propagating Buddhism in Shu-lik, i.e. Kashgar. Tibetan sources tell us about Vijayasimha's son, Vijayakīrti, that he joined king Kanika and the king of Guzan in an expedition to India, on which the city of Soked (Sāketa) was overthrown.[4] In the Chinese translation of Kumāralāta's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitīka,*[5] which was composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka, 'In the family of the Kiu-sha there was a king called Chen-t'an Kia-ni-cha. He conquered Tung T'ien-chu (Eastern India, according to Huber and Levi) and pacified the country. His power spread fear; his good fortune was complete. He set out to return to his kingdom. The route passed through a broad, flat land. 'Chen-t'an is Chandana, according to Levi. It is stated to be an old designation of Khotan according to S.C. Das.[6]

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The original Chen-t'an or Chin-than would be Kashgaria, and Chen-t'an Kia-ni-ch'a would be Kanishka, king of Khotan. Konow agreed[7] with Fleet that Kanishka belonged to a separate clan, sect, or ruling house of the Kushāṇa tribe, which made its way fom Khotan into Kashmir, and thence to India.[8] He further suggested that if Kanishka came from Khotan, it will be necessary to accept the theory of Baron A. de. Stael Holstein,[9] that he did not belong to the great (Ta), but to the Little (Siao) Yue-chi. This is evident from the *Ma-ming-pu-sa-chuan,*[10] the biography of Aśvaghosha translated into Chinese before A.D. 412, that Aśvaghosha's patron, i.e. Kanishka, was king of the *Siao-Yueh-chi.* In the description of the Little Yue-chi kingdom of its own time the *Wei-shu* gives the information that its capital was Purushapura, i.e. Peshawar, and that for this reason they were called the Little Yueh-chi. According to Sten Konow,[11] it was certainly Kanishka who first made Peshawar the capital of the Yueh-chi empire, and the remark in the *Wei-shu* accordingly adds strength to the theory that Kanishka was a Little Yue-chi.

It would appear from the above source material—Tibetan and Chinese sources—with references to Khotan that Kanishka sought the help of Vijayakīrti, son of Vijayasiṁha, in his expeditions towards Northern India, and Kanishka returned back. The biography of Aśvaghosha notices him as king of the Little Yueh-chi. Against this contention, P.C. Bagchi points out,[12] that there is no reason to think that Kanishka was a Little Yueh-chi. The Little Yueh-chi had lost their identity amongst the barbarians of South-eastern China, just as the Great Yueh-chi had lost theirs amongst the Tukhāras. Besides these, Little Yueh-chi has no connection either with the Ta-hia (Tukhāra) or with the Kuei-shuang (Kushāṇas).

One, however, feels that it is very difficult to fit in Kanishka either as Ta-Yueh-chi or a Siao-Yueh-chi. In fact, we have suggested earlier that the Kushāṇas (Kuei-shuang) and the Yueh-chi represented two entirely different racial clans—the former of the Iranian Saka stock, while the latter of Mongoloid origin. The whole problem rests on the interpretation of the passage in the Chinese annals. Kuwabara seems to have suggested[14] the correct approach, to which we have referred to earlier and endorsed as well. Kanishka's relation with Khotan and the contemporary powers prior to his conquest of Northern India, and his subsequent relations may not be denied. For the time being it can only be suggested on the available evidence that Kanishka belonged to the same racial stock, and he availed of the opportunity created by the

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death of Wima Kadphises, and the subsequent rule of the intruders. His conquest of Northern India as far as Pataliputra took very little time in the absence of a strong power and his valid claim as a Kushāṇa.

Scheme of Conquest:—Kanishka's conquest does not seem to be a single phased affair. The find spots of his inscription dated in the year 2 at Kosam[15] (Allahabad Dt.), 3 at Sārnāth,[16] 4 onwards at Mathura,[17] 11 at Suivihar[18] (Bhawalpur) and Zeda (Und),[19] 18 at Manikiala (Rawalpindi)[20] are suggestive of the Kushāṇa emperor's conquest, as far as Vārāṇasi (Banaras) in the east and Bhawalpur in the south-west. Literary evidence from the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*,[21] *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*[22] and the Chinese Later Han annals[23] are supposed to adduce evidence relating to the Kushāṇa-Kanishka's hold over Khotan, Kashmir, and Tung-li and Pan-chi—supposed to be some parts of India—Central and South-western, according to Thomas. Kanishka's hold over south-west India, is supposed to be based on the identification of Sandanes of the *Periplus*.[25] These aspects of Kanishka's conquest deserve separate treatment, and so also Kanishka's hold over Bihar, which seems probable from the finds of coins, Huvishka's Bodh Gaya plaque from Patna, and the reference in the *Śrīdharma-piṭakanidānasūtra*, (translated into Chinese in A.D. 472) to the defeat of the king of Pataliputra and the demand by *Chen-tan Kia-ni-cha* of a large indemnity, but agreeing to accept Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl, and a naturally compassionate cock.[26] The association of Aśvaghosha with Kanishka is a well-known fact. These conquests of Kanishka extending over a long period—may be twenty years or so, seem to have been in phases: the first being the conquest of India, ascending the throne as the lawful Kushāna ruler and the event synchronising with the foundation of an era which was named after him and continued by his successors. His conquest of mid-India or Madhyadeśa seems to have been in that very breadth. The emperor's second phase of conquest seems to have extended towards southern Punjab and Sind, while the last phase was confined to Kashmir and Khotan. This last one seems to have resulted in the integration of those Central Asian powers which previously were loose and weak. He might have availed of the help of one or more such power in his conquest of India, as is suggested by the Tibetan sources referred to earlier. This reminds one of the similar scheme framed a few centuries earlier by Chandragupta Maurya who sought the assistance of Parvataka, according to the *Mudrārākshasa*, but ultimately the ally too was not spared. These phases of Kanishka's conquests have to be treated and the probable dates

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suggested, after we have tried to grapple with the intricate questions of the initial year of Kanishka's era.

Kanishka's era:—The date of Kanishka's accession to power and the foundation of the era named after him, has been a subject of discussion and disputation for more than three quarters of a century. In the maze of conjectures and possibilities, where no firm footing is, one gets worried on this account, especially because the period of uncertainty and guess, far from being narrowed down, is being extended. Chronology based upon epigraphy, evidence from the coins, their finds in hoards, and palaeography, and the imitation of the types, excavated sites and the unearthed materials from India and abroad, Chinese evidence in late works or traditions, astronomical data etc. have been marshalled by scholars in support of one theory or the other. It would, therefore, be necessary to consider the entire evidence afresh without being tied down to any one with a view to fitting in the details accordingly.

Epigraphic Evidence and Chronology:—Epigraphic evidence is furnished by the records referring to this Kushāṇa ruler and his successors. These inscriptions are dated in an era—named after Kanishka, and an important point worth noticing is that the months and dates follow a uniform pattern—the seasonal division of the year and the dates having no reference to the bright or the dark half, but are in continuation. This is very significant.[27] The advocates of the Śaka era theory while accepting Kanishka's claim as the founder of an era, suggest that that era was the famous one of A.D. 78. In doing so they identify the Kushāna ruler mentioned in the famous Taxila record of the year 136 with Kanishka himself. The find place of this inscription and the dating pattern are important for consideration. The silver scroll bearing the Kharoshthi inscription was found by Marshall in one of the chambers to the west of the Dharmarajika stupa of the Chir mound. According to Sir John, 'The chapel in question is built in a small diaper type of masonry which came into vogue in Taxila about the middle of the first century A.D., and lasted for about a hundred years.' The plate shows that symbol which is known from the coins of Kujula Kara Kadphises, Wima Kadphises, and Zeionises.[28] The record is dated in the old era, and if Kanishka was the founder of an era starting from the year one of his accession, there seems no reason why this Taxila record, and so many others that follow—Peshawar Museum inscription of the year 168[29] Khalatse of the year 187 (?),[30] the Taxila silver vase of the year 191,[31] the Dewai inscription of the year 200, [32] should be in the old era, and in these, unlike the records connected with Kanishka and his family, the names of the

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individual months are also given. No records dated in the old era are found between 200 (Dewai) and 318 (Loriyan Tangai). According to (Mrs) Lohuizen-de-leeuw[33] that was the period covered by the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors. That might be acceptable but there seems a consensus of opinion that this old era has to be equated with the famous era of 58/57 B.C., which later on came to be known as Vikrama or Krita era.[34]

If we identify the Kushāṇa ruler of the Taxila scroll inscription with king Kanishka and his era with the Śaka one of 78 A.D. then there is an insurmountable chronological difficulty that cannot be overcome. The record of Jihoṇika dated in the year 191[35] = 133 A.D. from Taxila itself supports him as a full-fledged ruler with the title Rājan and he issued coins as well in his name. The question of his exercising authority over Taxila and the adjoining region is, therefore, settled. On the other hand the Wardak inscription of Huvishka,[36] dated in the year 51, extends the rule of this Kushāṇa ruler even 30 miles to the west of Kabul. If it is dated in the Śaka era of 78 A.D. Huvishka empire extended as far Afghanistan in the year 129 A.D. Therefore, either Jihonika was ruling as a vassal of the Kushāṇas, or the western portion of the Kushāṇa empire must have been lost to this ruler. Unfortunately neither of these two probabilities can be accepted. There are instances of several Kushāṇa Kshatrapas and Mahākshatrapas, namely, Kharapallāṇa, Vanashpara, (Sarnath),[37] Liaka (Zeda),[38] Veśpasi (Manikiala),[39] the Kapiśa Kshatrapa,[40] the son of the Kshatrapa G (r)-aṇavhryaka (Manikiala Bronze casket) of the time of Kanishka and his successor probably. They never issued coins, although in two cases the name of the overlord too is not mentioned. Moreover, the finds of Zeionises coins[41] have settled his place after Wima Kadphises and before Kanishka. The latter, therefore, has to be pushed down in the second century A.D. to avoid any chance of overlapping.

An instance of chronological overlapping arises from Kanishka being placed in the second century A.D. in his contemporaneity with Rudradāman. His great Girnar inscription[42] of the year 72=A.D. 150 makes no mention of an overlord, nor does the era employed in it is based on a date in the second century, but in the Saka era of A.D. 78. Although he assumes the titles of *Rājan Mahākshatrapa*, which he attained himself (*svayaṁ=adhigatā mahākshatrapa-nāmnā*); he was evidently not a vassal but a very powerful and independent monarch. He also claims victories over the Yahudheyas who dwelt on the southern bank of the Sutlej in the very heart of Kanishka's territory. Further in the year 28 of Kanishka's era Vāsishka, the successor of Kanishka, is mentioned as emperor in an

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inscription of Sañchi.[43] This would clash with the Śaka's hold over Ujjain.

To obviate difficulty, it might be suggested that Kanishka came later than Rudradāman. The Sui-vihar inscription is dated in the year 11 of his era. If Kanishka's accession is dated in the year A.D. 144, he might have conquered the Bhawalpur region when Rudradāman was probably no more and his successors were not strong enough to take up cudgels against him. The same can be explained with regard to Vāsishka's hold over Sāñchī, although we are of the opinion that Vajheshka, father of Kanishka of the Ara inscription, very probably belonged to the Later Kushāṇa family. A Sāñchī record of Vaskushāṇa[44] of the year 22 who was a Rājan, also deserves consideration. We shall discuss these problems later on at proper places.

Numismatic Evidence:—This evidence is confined to the finds of coins of Kushāṇa rulers in treasure troves[45] along with those of others whose dates are known, or nearly known, the types of the coins issued by the rulers after a certain pattern or patterns and corresponding to a set weight to cater for commercial and trade requirements, their borrowing later on, and the use of the cursive Greek in legends on their coinage. The Ahinposh Stupa finds,[46] though not the largest treasure trove, provided ample material for study in fixing the date of Kanishka. The coins included 6 of Wima Kadphises, 10 of Kanishka and 1 of Huvishka, which was in a very good condition. The 3 Roman coins included one each of Domitian (A.D. 81-96), Trajan (A.D. 98-117) and Sabina (A.D. 128-37). These must have been brought there by the trader and suggest that the coins must have been buried after A.D. 137. and in the time of Huvishka. The coins must have taken sometime to travel which might be between 25-50 years or even less. That would place Kanishka, father and predecessor of Huvishka, in the second century A.D., some time after 120. On the other hand, Kennedy assumed[47] that it was by mere accident that Huvishka was represented in the Ahin Posh Stupa. These coins, like the Roman ones, seem to have been placed in Stupas along with gems, relics and other valuable articles—a collection of curios. This argument of Kennedy is well construed by Thomas[48] as disguising the circumstances in a haze of inconclusive matter. The association of the three Roman coins whether placed as curios or otherwise in the Ahinposh Stupa along with that of Huvishka and his predecessors make it certain that the Stupa was built during or soon after the life time of Huvishka.

Other factors concerning the coinage of Kanishka and his successors noticed by the scholars are. the titles used and Greek writing,

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weight of the coins and foreign influence. These factors were considered at length by the advocates of the Vikarma and the Śaka era theories. The weight of the gold coins of the Kanishka group conforming to a standard adopted in Rome, the absence of the letter *H* from the coins of Huvishka, although present on other coins both of Kharosta, Kharaostes, and of Nahapāna were due to Roman influence, which on the coins of the last one is also evident from the heads on the obverse.[49] The use of Greek legends, and Greek alphabets by Kanishka and his successors on their coinage was also taken into consideration by these scholars.[50] The change over from the unicals to a beautiful cursive script which alone was employed by his successors bearing close resemblance to the cursive of very early Roman papyri[51] are taken into consideration for assigning Kanishka to a much earlier period. One, however, feels that this aspect of numismatic evidence in trying to settle Kanishka's date is obsolete, and there is no point in raking up the ashes after the uniform acceptance of Kanishka's family following that of the Kadphises. There are, however, a few other points of numismatic value which deserve careful consideration. These relate to the copying of the Kushāṇa coinage by the Sassanids on the one hand and the early Gupta rulers on the other hand. Are we to suppose that the gap between the Kushāṇas and the Guptas was not as wide as supposed by historians who think it to be a dark period of ancient Indian history? This piece of numismatic evidence has to be considered in detail.

G. Bataille in the second part of his paper *Notes sur la numismatique des Kushānas et des Kushansh-Sassandes*[52] considers the identification of Po-tiao with Vāsudeva as difficult to be set aside taking into consideration the document cited by Lüders.[53] He fixes the epoque of the coinage of Vāsudeva near about 220 A.D. Moreover it is easy to say that there is not much difference between the coins of Vāsudeva and these of the Sassanids, with the result that it seems difficult to put them into two groups. The distinction is only of a general peculiarity. The king is to the right, Śiva on the reverse, curly hair of the Iranian type, beard and long hair forming a mass at the neck. The king puts on Sassanid helmet or crown. All the coins of Vāsudeva represent the king and Śiva, bearded and without the mass of hair on the back. The author proposes to admit that the series of Vāsudeva's coins represent a very notable evolution of the stater of Kanishka and Huvishka. He draws attention to a coin (article pl. III a) which is hardly different from that of Vāsudeva except for the legend which shows that it was of Hormazd I, who before 372, the date of his accession to the throne was king of Khorasan, this country having been conquered by Ardeshir to-

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wards 230. The king conquered by Ardeshir was the last sovereign of the country whose coin type he borrowed evidently the Stater of Vāsudeva. According to Herzfeld, who made a special study of Indo-Sassanian coins, the Sassanian princes assumed the title "*Kushāna Shāhanshāh* (the king of the kings of Kushānas) on their coins from about 230 to 248 A.D..[54] The Sassanid Viceroys at Khorassan who copied the Kushāṇa coins—included Pervez (brother of Shahpur I who struck the silver and bronze of the Sassanid types,- have the figure of Buddha on certain coins. From 253 to near about 273, Hormazd struck coins of diverse metals continuing on the one part the Sassanid type issues and on the other the local coinage of the Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇa staters continued to be struck after 273 by Varaharan I, II and III.[55]

According to Ghirshman, the coins of Vāsudeva were the latest found at Begram.[56] The city was restored by Shahpur I between A.D. 241 and 250. As Vāsudeva ruled between the years 74-98, it is presumed by him that the foundation of Kaniska's era would fall in cir A.D. 144. He asserts that historic sources confirm very happily the numismatic and archaeological observations. The Chinese text *San-kouo-teche* mentions a king Po-tio which may be identified with Vāsudeva, who sent an ambassador to China in 230, and received the title of the king of the Grand Yueh-chi. He is also identified with Vehsadjan or Vehsadjen who joined the confederacy formed by the Armenian Khusru I against Ardeshir after his victory on Arbatan. We shall refer to this part of the discussion again when considering the archaeological evidence adduced by Ghirshman with reference to his excavations at Begram.

The Indian side of the Numismatic evidence is provided by the coins of Gupta rulers who copied Kushāṇa coinage on their standard type of coins. According to Smith,[57] the gold coinage of the early Gupta king was based on that of the Kushāṇas and ultimately on the Roman money. They continued the weight of the Roman *aurei* in imitation of Kushāṇa issues. This imitation can be traced in the motif of the king offering oblation at an alter, wearing the close-fitting long coat and trousers, and, as on the Kushana coins, the king's head is surrounded by a halo, to the left of which is a crescent. The king's name is written in vertical. In the left hand the king holds a standard bound with a fillet as on the Kushāṇa coins. The reverse of the standard type is a closer imitation of the Ardoxo type.[58]

Now if the Gupta rulers imitated the coinage of the Kushānas both in type and in weight, naturally the gap between the last ruler of the earlier dynasty and the founder of the later one must not be

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long. We have instances of the succeeding rulers even stamping their name on the coins of their predecessor and of another ruling family as, for example, Gautamīputra Śātakaraṇi stamping his name on those of Nahapāna, but one would not care to imitate the coinage of an obsolete dynasty which ruled more than a hundred and fifty years earlier. We have suggested that the Numismatic evidence brings the Kushāṇas and the Guptas nearer to each other than was presumed so far. Samudragupta refers to the *Daivaputra Shāhānushāhi*[59]—the title borne by the Kushāṇa rulers—evidently remnants of the Kushāṇas. But we cannot suggest that the dynasty lingered on with non-entities for about 150 years. It is, therefore, very likely that Kanishka's family ruled from the middle of the second to the middle of the third centuries A.D., followed by the later Kushānas who, too, may have ruled for about 75 years and the contemporaneity of the Kushāṇa rulers, however small their kingdom might be, with Samudragupta may be established.

Indian Archaeology and Gandhāra Art:—Indian archaeology, especially Marshall's excavations[60] at Taxila, have finally set at rest the controversy raised by Fleet and Kennedy and earlier by Cunningham in putting Kanishka in 58 B.C. and before the Kadphises family. Sir John's remarks are worth perusal and may be taken as final on this point. "The original masonry of the Kanishka's stupa at Peshawar," says Sir John, "is of a type which at Taxila, at any rate was unknown in the Śaka-Pahlava period, but is parallel there in the buildings of the second century A.D." He further points out, "At Manikiala, the great stupa, erected during Huvishka's reign is similar in all its details, its dwarfed pilasters, degenerate corinthian capitals, levelled torus mouldings, notched Indian brackets, and the like, to monuments of the second and third century A.D. at Taxila.[61]" The stratification and the type of masonry suggest that a period in the second century A.D. would suit better, according to Marshall.

Kanishka's relation to Gandhāra art[62] is also supposed to shed light on his dates. According to Marshall, once again, the relic casket with an inscription of Kanishka, dated in the year 1 according to Konow[63] though not certain, should be attributed to the decadent or even to the final period. He further suggests that the Gandhara art did not develop under the Kushāṇa emperor. Barnett[64] held that Kanishka was associated with the beginning of the Gandhāra art, while according to Smith,[65] the art had attained its highest development during the reign of Kanishka. Spooner and Vogel presumed that its flourishing period had passed away before the time of this ruler. According to Foucher,[66] Kanishka occupied the middle period, while Waddel doubted[67] if the crude and debased

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style and workmanship of Kanishka's coins and relic casket could in any way sustain Smith's view. It is, however, difficult to come to any definite conclusion. We cannot ignore the Hastnagar Pedestal, the Loriyan Pedestal and the Shakardarra image of Hariti, all bearing inscriptions dated in the years 318, 384 and 399 of the old era respectively. They are considered as good in style. Are we to presume on the basis of the Kanishka's casket of a much inferior artistic order, and the debased Kushāṇa coins inferior to those of the previous ruling Greek and Indo-Parthian families of the North-west, that the art was on the decline, and revived again after the Kushāṇas? It is difficult to fix up Kanishka's date and his association with Gandhāra art with any degree of certainty and precision, nor can we judge from the casket made of a different stuff. It appears that Kanishka was in the efflorescent rather than in the decadent period of Gandhāra art.

Excavations at Begram and other sites:—At Begram[68] ancient Kapiśa in Afghanistan, excavations carried on the year 1937, 1939 and 1940 by Hackin, and later on by Ghirshman in 1941 and 1942 revealed some interesting facts shedding light on the date of Kanishka. The French scholar has referred to three different strata—the first or the earliest one connected with the Pre-Kushāṇa period, as the coins found there included those of Eucratides, Menander, Heliocls, Apollodotus, and Hermaeus of the Graeco-Bactrian group, of Spalirises, Azes, Gondophernes and Abadagasis of the Scytho-Parthian group, and of the two kings of the first Kushāṇa family—Kujula Kadphises and Wima Kadphises. The second stratum yielded coins of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva. Its end synchronised with the conquest of Shahpur whose inscription is engraved on the walls of Kaba-i-Zardust or Tomb of Zoraster at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis. This inscription according to the author, permits to fix without mistake the end of the second city of Kapisi-Begram and of the second Kushāna dynasty. Shahpur I conquered the kingdom of the Kushāṇas and took the city of Peshawar as well as the Kushāna possessions of Sind etc. 'One can conclude without a mistake, writes Ghirshman, that the second city of Begram was ruined in the course of this conquest, the date of which might be placed between the accession of Shapur 1st (241 A.D.) and the second war against the Romans (251-52 A.D.). The latest coins found in the second city of Begram were those of Vāsudeva, the last ruler of Kanishka's family.' According to the French Savant[69] this is also confirmed by the Chinese text *San-Kouo-teche* which mentions a king Po-tiao whom Sinologists identify with Vāsudeva who in 230 sent an ambassador to China. He is the same person

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mentioned by the Armenian Moses of Khorene under the name Vehsadjan, king of the Kushānas. There seems no doubt that all the three sources refer to the same person, viz. Vāsudeva. So the end of this Kushāṇa family of Kanishka might be placed between 241 and 250 A.D. As the last record of Vāsudeva is dated in the year 98, the accession of Kanishka might be placed between 143 and 152 A.D. Ghirshman is a little more precise in a subsequent paper[70] in which he suggests that Kanishka's year of accession might be placed in the year 201 of an era which is the old one of 57 B.C. As such it comes to 144 A.D.

Ghirshman also suggests[71] that in passing from Paropamisades to the Bactria as far as Sogdiana six ancient sites—Begram, Surkh-Kotal, Qala-i-Mir, Kai-Kobeed, Airtam-Termez and Tali-Barzuu (near Samarkhand) present an undeniable unity in their archaeological and numismatic context. In every one of these the city (or the temple) of the grand Kushānas submitted to a destruction and for certain died down under a layer of ash. After a brief interruption the life appeared afresh and a new city was set up over the preceding one (except at Airtam) where it was abandoned, and this was under the third Kushāṇa dynasty or the Later Kushāṇas. If the rupture in the functioning of the temple of Surkh-Kotal and its conflagration seem to have been the result of the conquest of Ardashir I, the destruction of the site to the south of the Hindu Kush at Begram and of those to the north of Oxus (in Sogdiana) must be attributed to knowledge of the historical facts given in the inscription of king Shapur I at Kaba-i-Zardusht. The Kushāṇa empire seems to have collapsed like a house of cards before the Sassanid push which began in the time of Ardashir and terminated with Shapur I, a period of twenty years. Epigraphic sources in Iran relating to the subject of the destruction of the Kushāṇa empire and the expansion of the Sassanid power, get confirmation from the archaeological discoveries and observations from all the sides.

Some scholars have taken objection to Ghirshman's statement[72] regarding the conquest of Begram by Shapur which they attribute to Ardhashir. Secondly the Po-tiao of the Chinese sources of 230 may be identified with Vāsudeva II of the Later Kushāṇa family. These are the two main points in dispute. If Ghirshman's contention and identification be accepted, Kanishka ascended the throne in 144 A.D. We had suggested much earlier[73] that to obviate the possibility of a clash between Kanishka and Rudradāman whose date (Śaka 72=150 A.D.) is certain, the former has to be placed later in the second quarter of the second century A.D. The position of Vāsishka, whom we presume to be of the Later Kushāṇa family would also

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be clear with no possibility of his clash with the Saka rulers over the territory in Malwa. This point we shall consider in greater detail later on. For the present the consensus of opinion amongst the western scholars seems to be in favour of Kanishka being placed in the second century A.D., although the Indian historians in general appear to be more conservative on this point. One cannot afford to be dogmatic, but the sifting of the evidence and its evaluation are helpful in approaching the truth or nearer truth on this point. We have still to consider the astronomical data adduced by scholars on this subject, and lastly the Chinese traditions and references to Kanishka in later sources.

Astronomical Data: Astronomical data from some of the records of the time of Kanishka have been taken into account by some scholars[74]—Indian and Western—with inconclusive results. P. C. Sen Gupta set up his thesis on these calculations. According to his hypothesis, the era of Kanishka[75] commenced from December 25 of 79 A.D., or from the year 2 of the Saka era which satisfies all the conditions that arise from the data given in the Kharoshṭhī inscriptions group B of Sten Konow. He further presumes that Kanishka lived at the beginning of the Śaka era, a view which he hoped would be endorsed by all right minded historians. The same data were earlier utilised by D. N. Mukherjee[75] and he came to the conclusion that the Kushāṇa era founded by Kanishka should be identified with the Vikrama era of 57 B.C. In view of the use of the same data how are we to reconcile the conflicting views? One may, therefore, suggest that it would not be advisable to base one's conclusions on astronomical data.[76] The same phenomenon occurs after a number of years-in cycles. In this connection a few *sūtras* from Pāṇini's *Ashṭādhyāyī* may be quoted here. The first sūtra runs as—*Sāsmin Paurṇamāsī-iti* (4/2/29.). This explains that the month Pausha is that in which the Pushyā Nakshatra must fall on the full moon day. This phenomenon occurs every year. The denomination of the month of the basis of the Nakshatra on the full moon day is equally true in case of chaitra. There is another sūtra *Nakshatreṇa yuktakālena* (4/2/3) indicating that a day or night is said to be connected with an asterism when the moon is in conjunction with it during that time. Thus, Pushyā, Tishyā Maghā etc. are lunar asterisms; when the full moon is in any of these asterisms then the necessary affix is added to the name of the asterism in order to denote the month through the time of such a conjunction. Accordingly it may be said that Āshāḍhā Nakshatra should be on the full moon day of Āshāḍha Chitrā Nakshatra on the full moon day of the month of Chaitra.

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Now, taking the astronomical data furnished by the Zeda and the Und inscriptions into consideration, we may find out if on the 20th day of the month of Āshāḍha in the case of the first record we have Uttara-Phālgunī Nakshatra and on the 8th day of the month of Chaitra in the case of the latter one we have Pūrvāshādha Nakshatra. Thus, counting from Mūla next to Jyeshṭha which was on the full moon day of the month of the Jyeshṭha, we find that the 21st Nakshatra is Uttara-Phālgunī, and not 20th as given in the inscription. This can be explained by the fact that two consecutive Nakshatras may sometime fall on the same day. So that on the 20th day may have occurred the Uttara-Phālgunī Nakshatra. In the other case, counting the same way from the Hasta, next to Uttara-Phālgunī Nakshatra which occurs on the full moon day of the month of Phālguna, we find that the eighth Nakshatra is Purvāshādha.

It would thus appear that astronomical calculations hardly weigh in these matters. Sten Konow with the help of Wan Wijk carried on a number of calculations, and tried to fix up the initial date of the old Saka era which too varied. The same can be said about the attempt to settle the initial date of Kanishka's era on the basis of the astronomical data from Kushana records. The evidence is unreliable and inconclusive.

Chinese sources: The important notices about Kaniksha in Chinese texts were brought together by M. Levi.[77] The *Kalpanāmaṇḍitīka* of Kumāralāta in its Chinese translation composed shortly after the reign of Kanishka, refers to Chen-tan-ni-cha in the family of Kiu-sha, who conquered Tung-Tien-chu and pacified the country. This is identified with Eastern India, according to Huber and Levi. The fame of the ruler spread far and wide, completing his good fortune. Finally, he returned to his country by the route passing through a broad, flatland. We have discussed the suggested identification of Chen-tan with Chandana, an old designation of Khotan, according to Sarat Chand Das. Sten Konow compared the statement with the one of the *Maharāja Kanikalekha,* referring to the Kanishka of the Kuśa race, and suggested that Kanishka came from Khotan.[78] It is inferred from the two sources, according to the Late Norwegian Professor, that the Indian Kushāṇas sometime after Wima Kadphise's death tried to strengthen their position by joining hands with their cousins beyond the Pamir, and the result was evidently a large consolidation of Kushāna power, and the introduction of a new era, which may have been used both in Turkestan in India.[79]

Sylvain Levi brought to light another reference[80] to Kanishka and his vast empire. Sangharaksha, the Chaplain of the Kushāna

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king, was a native of Surāshṭra (Siu-lai or Siu-lai-na) who lived 700 years after the Buddha proceeded to Gandhāra (Kien-t'o-yue) in order to meet king Kanishka. But he found him away in the north-west engaged in a war with the emperor of China. The clash between the Kushānas and the Chinese is also referred to with reference to the exploits of Pan-chao and Pan-yung.[81] The proposal for the hand of a Chinese princess, sent through an envoy, his arrest followed by a military expedition under Sei, his subsequent defeat and destruction, and finally the offer of tribute, are supposed by some scholars to refer to Kanishka; and all this happened in the year 90 A.D.[82] We have covered this aspect of Kushāno-Chinese relations with reference to Wima Kadphises, and this piece of evidence neither sheds light on the date of Kanishka, nor does it bring out the humiliating position of the Kushāṇa emperor. The tradition[83] about Kanishka subduing all the neighbouring provinces and bringing into obedience people of distant countries, and receiving hostages from those regions whom he kept with singular attention, kindness and consideration runs contrary to the account given in the earlier tradition. Hiuen-T'sang's account seems to carry more weight on this point of Kanishka's might and the vastness of his empire, even though it has nothing to suggest about his date precisely.

Levi related from a Chinese source, the *Fu-tsang-Yin Yuan-Chuan* a narrative referring to an expedition to the North during which king Kanishka was murdered.[84] Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw[85] presumes that the campaign is the same as that related by Pan-Ch'ao, and a similar tale is related by Hiuen-T'sang.

H.C. Ghosh drew attention[86] to some passages from twelve Chinese texts translated by Maspero in which we are told of Emperor Ming seeing Buddha in a dream, his sending an embassy to India which must have taken place between the years 61 and 75. Kanishka does not figure in these texts. The Ta-Yueh-chi king, according to him, was certainly not Kanishka. The edifying Buddhist texts would never have missed the chance of associating the name of the great emperor with the formal introduction of Buddhism in China.

The last reference is to *Po-tiao* in the *San-Kuo-Chih* (section Wei-chih chap. III p. 3) who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230, and received the title 'king of the Ta-Yueh-chi allied to the Wei.' According to Chavannes,[87] Po-tiao can very well be a rendering of Vāsudeva, and if such be the case, it should be possible to fix the beginning of the Kanishka era approximately between A.D. 130 and 170.[88] Ghirshman takes it to be a very decisive piece of evidence in fixing Kanishka's era in 144 A.D.[89] Those who associated Kanishka with the Śaka era of 78 A.D., identify this ruler

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with Vāsudeva II of the Later Kushāna family.[90] On this point one might take into account the prowess of the Later Kushāṇas and the extent of their empire. Except for a few isolated pieces of coins, the very existence of this ruler could be a matter of extreme doubt. According to Ghirshman, the latest coin found in Begram were those of Vāsudeva I.[91] We are inclined to believe that this ruler was the third Kushāṇa ruler of Kanishka's line who ruled between 67-98 A.D.[92] He is called Ta-Yueh-chi in this Chinese reference, because all the tribes including the Kuei-chuang who were not a part of the Yueh-chi race, were called by that name after the contact and assimilation of the two in the course of the westward of the Yueh-chi.

A Brief Resume: We have considered the information relating to the Kushāṇas, with particular reference to the date of Kanishka, from all the available sources. Scholars have failed to reach an agreement on this point. Unfortunately, nothing new has cropped up and it is only a re-examination and revaluation of the known sources. The occidental scholars are more inclined in placing Kanishka in the second century A.D. with, of course, a few exceptions, while those in India, again with a few exceptions, are inclined to be conservative and credit him with the founding of the era of 78 A.D. Their main argument is that we know of no era in the second century A.D., and Kanishka's clash with Rudradaman was not a fact to be ignored in his Junagadh inscription, if the two were more or less contemporaries. Further, Wima Kadphises, succeeding an Octogenarian father could not have ruled for a longer time, and a period between A.D. 64-78 is enough for him, and he was immediately succeeded by Kanishka. The reference to Po-tiao is explained as pointing to the Later Kushāṇa ruler Vāsudeva II. On the other hand, it can as well be presumed that Kanishka's era might be only a regnal one, very probably with omitted hundreds, and this was continued by the Later Kushāṇa rulers as well. We have not found any record of Kanishka and his successors in three digits. Further, a period of 14 years is too short for Wima Kadphises. In fact there is hardly any evidence except the indirect inference from the Taxila record of 136, that the Kushāṇa ruler with the higher titles *Maharaja, Rajatiraja Devaputra* could only be Wima and not his father Kujula. Moreover, it is not improbable that the son of this octogenarian could be a youngman of 30 to 35 years who enjoyed longevity like his father. Kanishka's clash with Rudradaman need not be a fact, if he is placed about 144 A.D. In that case he conquered upper Sindh after the death of the Saka ruler. The Kushāṇa hold over Malwa, particularly in the light of Vāsishka's inscription at Sāñchī in the year 28, might be an event con-

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nected with the Later Kushāṇas. The reference to Po-tiao in the Chinese source fits in well with Vāsudeva I whose coins were found at Begram. The Later Kushāna ruler was neither such an important one, nor his empire so vast as to call for ties of alliance with the Wei. We seem to be on a safer ground in placing Kanishka and his family from the middle of the second century to the middle of the third century A.D., followed by the Later Kushāṇas, who were contemporaries of the Early Guptas, the well known *Daivaputra Shāhi Shāhānushāhi* of the Allahabad Pillar inscription of Samudragupta. This would obviate the possibility of a dark period between the Kushāna and the Gupta periods.

Kanishka and Eastern India: Kanishka's empire seems to have extended to the east of Sārnāth[94] where the inscriptions recording dedications made by Friar Bala were found. The reference to the Kshatrapa and the Mahākshatrapa Vanaspara and Kharapallana respectively suggest that Sarnath-Vārāṇasī must have been the provincial headquarters for the eastern zone of his empire. It is natural to presume that this administrative seat must have been in the centre and not at the extreme fringe of his empire. The extension of the Kushāna empire under Kanishka as far as Bihar is evident from numerous coins of this ruler and his successors which were found in this region.[95] We have already referred to the *Śrīddharmapiṭakanidānasūtra*[96] in its Chinese translation rendered in A.D. 472, which mentions Chen-t'an-Kia-ni-ch'a defeating the king of Pataliputra and demanding a large indemnity. He, however, agreed to accept Aśvaghosha, the Buddha's alms bowl, and a naturally compassionate cock instead. It is suggested that the conquest of the east was a turning point in the career of Kanishka who was probably strengthened in Buddhism through his association with Aśvaghosha.

The Kushāṇa hold over Bihar originating from Kanishka is corroborated by the finds of coins. Spooner in the course of excavations at Pataliputra recovered[97] many Kushāna coins of which the provenance extended to Asura in the Ranchi district. Two coins were found in a field while it was being ploughed.[98] Three Kushāṇa coins were also found in north Bengal,[99] while gold coins of Kanishka were unearthed at Tamluk and Mahasthana, the sites of ancient Tāmralipti and Puṇḍravardhana. The Kushāna hold over Bihar seems to have continued in the time of Huvishka as is evident from the Bodhgaya plaque.[100]

As regards the king or tribe ruling there before the Kushāṇas, Ptolemy refers to a tribe[101] called Maroundai which was located on the left bank of the Ganga, south of the Gagra to the top of the

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delta. Sylvain Levi identified[102] them with the Muruṇḍas, who were Scythic or Kushāṇa people corresponding to the Chinese Mao-lun. According to Allan,[103] we have considerable evidence to show that in the early centuries of the Christian era, the Muruṇḍa kingdom was a powerful one covering the greater part of the Gangā Valley and that the dynasty was a foreign one. The Muruṇḍas might have been foreigners occupying the Ganges Valley, though it is difficult to identify the ruler. The title *Murodasa Marjhakasa* is used for Kanishka in the Zeda inscription. One might be tempted to assume that Kanishka used this title after the defeat of the Muruṇḍas and his conquest of Bihar. This need not be a definite assertion although the conquest seems to be a fact.

It is difficult to suggest the extent of the Kushāṇa empire in the east and the south-east. Bose in an article on the 'Puri Kushāṇa coins[104] suggested that these were in fact issued by those off-shoots of the Kushāṇa-Muruṇḍa tribes who were previously lords of Bihar, but consequently on the extension of the Gupta rule had to take refuge in Chota Nagpur and other forest regions of Manbhum, Asura etc., where these coins have been found. The identification of the Muruṇḍas with the Kushāṇas is questionable, but the emigration of the former from their original home as a result of the extension of the Gupta rule might have been a fact. The Kushāṇa influence on the local coins might have been the result of their rule in that region.

Kanishka and Central Asia: We have noticed earlier, Kanishka's scheme of conquest on the basis of the finds of his dated records. Sten Konow suggested[105] that Kanishka first went to the Ganges country, and then retraced his steps westwards to his own country probably Khotan where he and his successors were acknowledged as the suzerains over the whole empire. According to Hiuen-Tsang[106] Kanishka governed by his vast army a wide territory even to the east of the Tsung-ling mountains. He also refers to the Central Asian princes being kept as hostages by the Kushāṇa emperor. Fresh light on this point is thrown by Prof. Bailey who traces reference to a king Chandra-Kanishka of the kingdom of Bahlaka, in a Khotanese manuscript. Further, at that time in that kingdom in Tokharistan, there arose in the family of the Imperial rulers, a brave meritorious, intelligent king of Jambudvipa, by name Chandra-Kanishka. Although it should be difficult to make definite assertions on the basis of the name-sake evidence, one may not hesitate in suggesting that Kanishka's empire extended as far as Balkh and Khotan.[108] The reference to a lord of Wakhan and Kharasalera visiting Mathurā and creating a perpetual endowment, in the time of Huvishka, is suggestive of Kushāṇa hold over that region. There

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is no information about Huvishka's conquest, although his record has been found in Wardak (30 miles to the west of Kabul) and the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[109] also mentions his hold over Kashmīr. These he must have inherited from his father. The identification of Chentan-Kanishka with king Chandra of the Mehrauli Pillar inscription as proposed by Dr. Majumdar[110] who is credited with conquering the land of the Vāhlikas, after having crossed the seven months of the river Indus, is uncalled for here. We can presume on the basis of the available evidence, how so ever scanty it be that Kanishka after conquering Kashmir, might have retired to his original kingdom at Khotan, or conquered that region and even beyond, as supposed by Hiuen-Tsang.

Kanishka and Western India: Kanishka's conquest over western India—including portions of Sindh seems evident from the Suivihar inscription dated in the year 11 of his era. The finds of a few potsherds bearing Kushāṇa letters at Tordher in the Thal Valley, District Lorlai, Baluchistan, led Sten Konow to presume that there was an expansion of the Kushāṇa power under Kanishka or one of his successors, and the palaeography of inscriptions makes one inclined to think of Yola Mira of this record as a local governor or chief, probably under Kushāṇa overlordship. If Kanishka flourished in the second century A.D., how could his mastery over the Lower Indus Valley be reconciled with the contemporary sovereignty of Rudradaman. Further, a similar problem arises about Ākara (eastern Malwa) which was ruled both by Rudradāman and the Kushāṇa ruler Vāśishka[112] while a large number of scholars believe that the Kushāna emperors were the overlords of the Kshatrapas of Western India,[113] there are others who deny it.[114] The wording of the Junāgarh inscription is suggestive of Rudradaman's position as an absolute and independent monarch. (*svayam= adhigatā Mahākshatrapanamnā*). This is accepted even by those who consider him to be a contemporary of Kanishka.[115] They suggest that the well-known boast of having acquired for himself the status of Mahā-Kshatrapa, provokes the question: acquired from whom? This could be conveniently explained that he received recognition from the great Kushāṇas—most probably Kanishka.

The contemporaneity of Kanishka with Rudradāman, with the latter enjoying an absolute and independant status raises the question of their territories abutting on each other in Western India and Sindh. According to H. C. Raychaudhary,[116] Rudradāman's mastery over Sindhu and Sauvīra (in the sense in which these terms were understood by the Purāṇas, the commentator on the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana, Hiuen-Tsang, and Alberuni) is clearly irreconcilable with the simultaneous sovereignty of Kanishka over

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Suivihar. It must have been under the control of Rudradāman, viewing his sway over ancient Sindhu and Maru, and the clash with the Yaudheyas of Johiyawar.

While Raychaudhary takes this fact as a strong piece of evidence against Kanishka being placed in the second century B.C., and a contemporary of Rudradāman, it can equally be suggested that Kanishka hold over Suivihar extending probably as far as Sindh materialised when Rudradaman was no more. That would equally solve the other problem relating to Vasishka's hold over Sāñchī in the year 28, with Rudradāman's territory including Ākara (Eastern Malwa). Apart from this, the extension of the Kushāṇa empire in the south-west is also suggested on the basis of certain references noticed by Sylvain Levi.[117] He adduced evidence of an extensive dominion of the Kushāṇas in South India, identifying Tung-li of the Chinese Later Annals, whose author died in 445 A.D., but recorded events not later than 170 A.D., with the Dravidian country. According to Thomas,[118] there does not appear any secure ground for identification of the country of Tung-li. It was not situated in Southern India, and its conquest by the Kushāṇas cannot be dated with certainty.

As regards the total void of reference to the Kushāṇas in the records relating to Gautamîputra, and in those relating to Rudradāman, who indubitably had Kushāṇa contemporaries, the explanation suggested is that Gautamîputra, who crushed the pride and conceit of the Kshatriyas; who destroyed the Śakas, Yavanas, and Pahlavas....who rooted out the Khaharāta family, who restored the glory of the Śātavāhana race had apparently never heard of the Kushāṇas or Tukhāras. We may suppose, that Gautamîputra did not distinguish racially between the Kushāṇas and the Sakas, with whom alone he had been in conflict. A different explanation may be given in the case of Rudradāman. It was not to his interest, as a highly Hinduized ruler, to refer to them more explicitly than by the mention of his promotion to the rank of Mahākshatrapa. His successors, whose dominions served as a permanent cushion between the Kushāṇas and the Deccan powers, may have experienced little or no interference from the former. The persistent indifference of the people of western and southern India in regard to occurances in the north, may have been a more general cause for the void of reference to the Kushāṇas.[119]

We suggest that Kanishka might not have been a contemporary of Rudradāman whose territory extended up to Sindhu and Sauvîra. It was only after his death that the Kushāṇa emperor annexed Suivihar and pushed his conquest further south. It is quite likely

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that Yola Mira of the Tordherai record might have been owing allegiance to him as his Satrap, as presumed of by Sten Konow. The question therefore, of a clash between Kanishka and Rudradāman over the Sindhu-Sauvîra region does not arise. It appears that Rudradāman's assumption of the title of Mahākshatrapa signifying his independent and absolute monarchical status has to be read in context with his elevation to the higher post by the people of all castes whom he promised to protect. This mandate from the people rules out the possibility of his owing allegiance to Kanishka. It is difficult to mark out the limits of western and south-western portion of the empire of Kanishka, but it is quite likely that he may have taken a substantial chunk of the north-western territory of Rudradāman's kingdom after his death. This seems to fit in our chronological framework, fixing Kanishka's accession to power in about 144 A.D.

Kanishka and his Kshatrapas: The epigraphic records throw light on the administrative arrangements of the far-flung empire of king Kanishka. A fuller review of the administrative system of the Kushāṇas—provincial and local—is reserved for treatment separately in another chapter. Here we take note of those provincial heads known as Kshatrapas or Mahākshatrapas in the Kushāṇa records. The Sarnath inscription[120] recording the donations of friar Bala mentions Vanasapara as a Kshatrapa and Kharapallāna as a Mahākshatrapa, both at Sarnath. It is difficult to define the powers of both in a single administrative unit. As there is no other reference to a Mahākshatrapa, it might be presumed that Kharpallāna was in charge of the eastern dominion of the Kushāṇa empire of Kanishka—possibly as his deputy with his headquarters at Mathura. He might have gone over there, or the donor thought it proper to mention his name as well. Names of several other Kshatrapas are noticed in the Kushāṇa records of the time of Kanishka. The Zeda,[121] the Manikiala, and the Manikiala[122] Bronze casket[123] inscriptions mention the names of Liaka, Vesapasi and the Kshatrapa of Kapiśa respectively. The last one was the son of Kshtrapa Graṇavhryaka, suggesting hereditary appointment. The find-spots of these inscriptions show that Kanishka had stationed his governors at Manikiala in the Rawalpindi district, Zeda in Afghanistan, and at Kapiśa identified with Begram. These may not be suggestive of the only administrative units of the empire of Kanishka. There might have been quite a few more—very probably one in the region of the Indus Valley, and another in Kashmir, which were in the Kushāṇa empire.

Kanishka and Buddhism: Although a believer in eclecticism, as is evident from the portrait of deities drawn from different pan-

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theons on his coins, Kanishka was personally a Buddhist. He and his reign marked an epoch in the history of Buddhism. The Northern Buddhists cherishing his memory almost as much as Aśokaś, have a tradition that this monarch was at first not an adherent of their religion, but reverend Sudarsana was instrumental in his conversion.[124] Only very few coins of Kanishka show Buddha, the majority have other divinities. There is hardly any indication of the probable date of his conversion. The grand stupa at Peshawar, which was admired by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-Tsang, was probably set up by this Kushāṇa ruler. This was located at Shahji-ki-dheri—the name of the two large mounds—by Cunningham and Foucher, and this was proved to be correct by Spooner's excavations in the years 1908 or 1909.[125] The relic chamber in the extensive remains of a large stupa contained a relic casket, decorated with a series of three seated Buddha figures, supported by a long undulating garland upheld by little Erotes, with large worshipping figures at intervals. The large group of figures represent king Kanishka standing between the Sun and the Moon, the Miiro and Mao of Kanishka's coins. The name of Kanishka appears twice, probably first with the date[126] and secondly with the Vihāra named after him. The inscription records dedication for the Sarvāstivādins. It is not certain if Kanishka was associated with this school of the Theravādins.

Sylvain Levi noticed the traditions[127] recording Kanishka's association with the contemporary Buddhist monks. His contact with Aśvaghosha is very clear, and we have referred to it earlier. Paramārtha, the most ancient and dignified monk of the time, refers to the Buddhist council[128] but does not mention his name. In the Colophon of the *Mahāvibhāsha*, Kanishka's name figures, and in his time 500 Arhats re-edited it.[129] References to Kanishka in other canonical Buddhist works have been noticed earlier. Mātricheta's letter to king Kanika preserved in the Tibetan canon,[130] the *Sūtralaṁkāra* of Aśvaghosha, of which the fragments in original Sanskrit were published by Lüders, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* of Kumāralāta and *Drishṭāntapaṅkti* of Aśvaghosha and two reports translated in the *Notes Sur les Indo-Scythes* place Kanishka in the scene.[131] We do not propose considering here the contribution to Buddhist religious thought and literature by the fourth Buddhist council, held in the reign of this ruler, either at Kuvana near Jalandhara or at Kundalavana in Kashmir. This would be done later or in the chapter on 'Religion'.

The end of Kanishka's rule and his successor: It is generally presumed that Kanishka ruled till the year 23 of his era and was followed by Vāsishka, his elder son, who ruled for a period of four

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years from 24-28,[132] and was followed by Huvishka. Unfortunately no coin of this ruler has been found so far, but his existence as a Kushāṇa ruler is certain. The Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41[133] whose father was Vajheshka, falling during the period of Huvishka's rule, twists the gordian knot to the Kushāṇa chronology. There is hardly any evidence of the division of Kanishka's empire between Vāsishka and Huvishka, as presumed by Luders and endorsed partially by Sten Konow. More than twenty years back we suggested[134] that Vāsishka does not seem to figure immediately after Kanishka, but belonged to the Later Kushāṇa family, and was associated with Kanishka of the Ara inscription, as his father, and he should also be identified with the Vaskushāna of the Sāñchī record of the year 22. It would be improper and inopportune for the young prince to assume the regal status in the life time of his father. We suggested that Kanishka very probably ruled till the year 28 of his era,[135] and was followed by his son Huvishka. Some legends mentioning the circumstances in which he met his end at the hands of his people were collected by Sylvain Levi[135], but we need not assign any evidentiary value to these sources.

Huvishka: The reign of Huvishka probably marks the brightest period of Kushāṇa history. The finds of inscriptions from the year 28-62, and his coins from Kapiśa to Bihar are suggestive of an extensive empire which he inherited from his father and which he certainly preserved. The variety of his coins in gold and copper are equally suggestive of the period of peace and prosperity in his time. The earliest inscription[136] recording the name of this ruler is the famous Mathura record dated in year 28 of the first day of Gurppiya (the Macedonian month Gorpiaios) corresponding to the Indian Proshṭapada. This is the only known example of the use of Macedonian month in a Brāhmī inscription. The importance of this record is otherwise as well. It records a perpetual endowment by Kanakasarukumāna, the lord of Kharasalera, the lord of Vakana in the old hall of merit (Punyaśālā-Prachînī) of 550 Purāṇas in each of the two guilds of flour-maker (*samitākāra*) and probably corn-dealers (*dhaṁñika*) under certain stipulations including the coverage of expenses for serving hundred Brāhmaṇas in the hall and providing provision for the indigent. The visit of the Lord of Vakana or Badakshan to Mathura points to the extension of Huvishka's authority as far as that region. This obviates any presumption of the division of the Kushāṇa empire between Vāsishka and the Huvishka, as suggested by Lüders and Sten Konow.[137] The latter pointed out that Huvishka may have been the actual conqueror of Kashmir, as his name comes first in Kalhaṇa's reference to the Kushāṇa rulers in his country. This he might have done as the great Kanishka's ge-

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neral, and after the latter's death, he seems to have become governor or Viceroy in the eastern provinces at least as early as the year 33. That accounts for his being styled only as Mahārāja Devaputra and not Rājātirāja.

The assumption of smaller titles in private records could hardly be a ground for presuming a lower status. The donors only knew the name of the ruler. In fact, Kanishka is simply called *Mārjhaka Kanishka* in the Zeda inscription of the year 11. That does not imply that the great Kanishka was relegated to a lower status. Among the records found at Mathurā of the time of Huvishka the Chharrgaon Naga image inscription[138] of the year 40, mentions him as *Mahārāja Rājatirāja* Huvishka, while another one dated in the year 44 from Mathura[139] adds only the title *Maharaja* to his name, and another one of the year 45[140] has *Devaputra* as well. Two years later in another record from Mathura,[141] the gift of monk Jīvaka, native of Uḍiyana to the Vihāra of *Mahārāja Rājāṭirāja Devaputra* Huvishka. The records of the time of this ruler are dated without any break from the year 28 upto 60,[142] although another record dated in the year 62[143] was also found in association with other inscriptions of Huvishka.

Huvishka's religion: Like his father Kanishka, Huvishka also portrayed the divinities drawn from different pantheons along with several new ones on his coins. The tendency seems to have been more towards Brahmanism and the depiction of new Brahmanical deities. Besides Śiva and the goddess Nana associated with him, Skanda, Kumāra Viśākha and Mahāsena also figure on his coins. They might be four divinities as presumed by Bhandarkar[144] or three gods, or rather three aspects of the same god, i.e. Skanda-Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena.[145] On the basis of the legend on copper coin of Huvishka in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, it has been suggested that Vishṇu appears on some coins of the Kushāṇa ruler.[146] It is suggested by Deb[147] that Huvishka had adopted the epithet of Kārttikeya. This religious attitude of Huvishka may also be considered against the background of references to the *devakula*[148] mentioned in a record from Mat (Mathura). It enshrined the statue of the Kushāṇa monarch who was the grandfather (pitāmaḥ) of Huvishka. Sten Konow presumed that at Mat (Mathura) where these Kushāṇa inscriptions were found, there was a gallery not of royal portraits, but rather a chester of *devakulas* commemorating the different Kushāṇa rulers. D. R. Bhandarkar suggested[149] that the devakulas looked exactly like temples and were erected to commemorate the memory of the departed kings. It appears that this Kushāṇa monarch was well-disposed towards Brahmanism. In one or two coins, noticed by Cunningham,[150] he is shown actually kneeling

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before the goddess Nana. He was equally tolerant towards Jainism and Buddhism, and was eclectic in outlook like his father. The majority of inscriptions of his time are those of Jain dedications. A Buddhist inscription [151] on the base of a pillar dated in the year 47, records gift of the monk Jīvaka, a native of Uḍiyana to the Vihāra of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka. This reminds one of Maharaja Kanishka's Vihara in the casket inscription from Shah-ji-ki dheri[152] (Peshawar). In the Wardak[153] inscription of the year 51 recording the establishment of the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega Vihāra, in a stupa, the root of bliss was enjoined principally for Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huvishka. It is, therefore, clear from his coins, and the records of his time that his personal disposition towards Brahmanism did not stand in the way of his broad-mindedness and spirit of toleration ensuring full freedom to members of other religious orders.

Huvishka ruled till the year 62, may be a little longer, as the earliest record of his successor is dated in the year 67.[154] There is no reference either to the break up or the division of the Kushāṇa empire in his time, nor can we account for the existence of another Kushāṇa ruler-Kanishka of the Surk-Kotal (Afghanistan) inscription[155] of the year 31, and another or the same Kanishka of the Ara inscription of the year 41,[156] expect by suggesting them to be the Later Kushāṇa rulers. The identity of this Kanishka or Kanishkas of the two records will be considered in the next chapter on the Later Kushāṇas. One thing seems certain: the intruder or intruders do not figure in the peaceful and progressive rule of Huvishka lasting for about 35 years or so.

Vāsudeva: Vāsudeva is the last in the line of the Imperial Kushāṇas of Kanishka's family who ruled from the year 67-98 or 99. The name of this ruler is suggestive of his complete Indianisation. His coins—found over a large region—from Sahri Bahlol,[157] Jamalagarhi,[158] at Sirkap and other places in Taxila,[159] and also as Begram[160] are suggestive of his hold over an empire which he inherited from his predecessor extending from Vārānasī and even further in the east, up to Afghanistan or even a little further to the west. He seems to be the same person who sent an embassy to the Chinese emperor in the year 230 and received the title 'King of the Ta-Yue-chi' allied to the Wei as mentioned in the San-Kouo-tche. The identification of Po-tiao with Vāsudeva[161] is now an accepted fact, although the supporters of 'Kanishka and the Śaka era theory' suggest that he was Vāsudeva II,[162] and not the earlier one who reigned between 62-98 of the Kanishka's era. Ghirshman in his excavations at Begram found Kushāṇa coins, the latest being those of Vāsudeva I. According to him,[163] he is the same person

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mentioned by the Armenian Moses of Khorene under the name Vehsadjan, king of the Kushāṇas, who at the accession of Ardeshir took part in the war against the Sassanids in a coalition at the head of which was Khosru I of Armenia and from which he retired himself two years after.

The inscriptions of the time of this ruler range from 67-98 or 99 of the Kushāṇa era. Though mostly records of Jain dedications, two records deserve special attention. The first one dated in the year 67,[164] in the second month of rainy season, in the reign of Maharaja Devaputra Vāsudeva, records the installation of the image of the Buddha for the acceptance of the Mahāsaṅghikas. The other record[165] is also Buddhist in character, and records dedication of the base of a pillar to the Vihāra of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka by the monk Jīvaka, inhabitant of Uḍiyāna on the day of the fourth month of summer in the year 77. This monk appears to be the same, who in the year 47 in the time of Huvishka on the fourth day of the fourth month of summer made gift to the Vihara of Huvishka. The visit of the same monk to Huvishka's Vihāra on the same day thirty years later might have some significance—either a special function connected with the Vihāra on its foundation day or some Buddhist celebration. This record also points to the uninterrupted traffic between North-west India and Mathurā. There is another record[166] of his time which is important from the administrative point of view. It records the dedication of a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka in the year 74. This last Kushāṇa ruler continued to enjoy an unfettered sovereignty over the vast empire inherited from his predecessor. Some inscriptions record his full Imperial titles: *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra*[167] Vāsudeva, *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Shāhi* Vāsudeva[168] and Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Ṣhāhi Vāsudeva.[169]

The End of the family: Vāsudeva, a devotee of Vishṇu or Vasudeva, as his name suggests, was completely Hinduised, and we find only Nana and Śiva (OHPO) depicted on his coins. The galaxy of divinities drawn from different Pantheons do not figure any more. Curiously a single inscription connected with Brahmanism is found during his reign of over thirty years, but the Buddhist and Jain records of dedications are numerous. That is only suggestive of the catholic and tolerant attitude of this last Kushāṇa ruler. Circumstances leading to the end of his rule, and the extinction of the Kushāṇa dynasty—even though temporarily—are to be traced in the North-west. It is a strange coincidence that this family too met its Waterloo in the north west portion of the empire without disturbing the Indian counterpart. Excavations of Begram[170]—Kāpiśi—supposed to be the capital of the State of the Kushāṇas, to the north of Kabul revealed three occupational beds. The second one had been

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abandoned as a result of destruction and fire. The coins found in that stratum were those of Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva—indicating that the devastation happened in the time of the last ruler. After a short break of continuity in the occupation of the site, a new city of a different plan was erected. The coins found there were those of the third Kushāṇa dynasty—the later Kushāṇas. In this context the influence of the Sassanid art may also be traced. The clash between the Sassanids and the Kushāṇas is recorded in an inscription[171] on the walls of Kaba-i-Zardusht or the Tomb of Zoraster at Naksh-i-Rustam near Persepolis, which is trilingual, and of Shapur I (241-272), written probably towards 262-63 and relates his victory over the Romans. In this inscription there is reference to the country of the Kushāṇas which was annexed by Shapur I. A destruction similar and contemporary to the one at Begram, was attested by the Soviet archaeologists in two ancient cities of Sodiana —country also mentioned in the same inscription as having been conquered by Shapur I. The coins which have been found there are suggestive of their destruction at the same time and under the same king Vāsudeva I. It is, therefore, proposed by Ghirshman that the end of the Kushāṇa dynasty came in the time of Vāsudeva and the person responsible for it was Shapur I.

This contention is not accepted by some scholars—one of whom Maricq[172] thought it to be a purely negative approach to the problem of Kushana chronology. He quotes a passage from Tabari suggesting that the conquest was the work of Ardeshir, his father at the time of his conquest of Bactria, after which the Kushana prince had acknowledged the suzerainty of this sovereign. Reference is also made to the destruction of the sanctuary of temple of fire at Surkh-Kotal—on the route from Kabul to Mazar-i-sherif where three periods have been found—one of the construction of the temple, the second one associated with the old plan, with additions, with its end as a result of the violent destruction to the monument which was burnt, and the third one after this cataclysm with a modest retaking with poor means. Fourteen coins of the great Kushāṇas—seven of Kanishka and two of Huvishka (the rest being unidentified) were all found in the old clef or in its neighbourhood. Schlumberger[173] attributed the construction of the sanctuary to the great Kushāṇas, and its destruction was the work of Ardeshir at the time of the conquest of Bactria, after which the Kushāṇa king acknowledged the suzerainty of this sovereign, as also appears from the passage of Tabari. The destruction according to Schlumberger happened in the time of Huvishka.

Taking into consideration the evidence from the Aramenian source—Moses of Khorene who speaks of Vehsadjan (Vāsudeva),

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king of the Kushāṇas, joining a coalition against Ardeshir I on his accession and retiring two years later, and the *San-Kou-tche* mentioning Po-tiao sending missions to the Chinese emperor, one can well presume that Vāsudeva was not a vassal acknowledging the suzerainty of the Sassanian Ardeshir. The Kushāṇa records from Mathurā give him the epithets *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi*,—titles which are not suggestive of a dependent status. We therefore stand on surer grounds in assuming that the end of the family came with the invasion of Shahpur I resulting in the burning and devastation of the city of Begram—Kāpiśi, agreeing with Ghirshman.

The family of Kanishka ends with Vāsudeva, but the Kushāṇas continue to figure in history. At Begram as well as in India, the later Kushāṇas, whose coins have been found, emerged as the new ruling family. It appears from the records of certain Kushāṇa rulers that they kept up the tradition of omitting hundreds in their records. The history of this last Kushāṇa dynasty can now be recorded with a little more of precision and certainty. The ninety-nine years rule of the Kanishka's group of Kushāṇas, comprising very probably only three kings—was marked with an extensive empire from Balkh to Bihar, with an administrative set-up about which we shall have something to tell later on. The Kushāṇa rulers were broad-minded and tolerant, though they were gradually leaning towards Indian religions—Buddhism and Brahmanism. They seem to have brought integration in Northern India. Even after the extinction of this family of Kanishka, the third Kushāṇa family comes up in Indian history, covering a period between the Imperial Kushāṇas and the Guptas which was at one time supposed to be the dark period of ancient Indian history.

1. It is commonly thought that the designation *devaputra*, 'god-son', applied in India to the kings of the Kushāṇa dynasty was copied from the ancient Chinese Imperial title, *T'ien-tzu*, 'son of heaven'. Justification of this view according to F.W. Thomas, cannot be found in any novelty in the very widespread notion of divine descent of kings and emperors. It was not an imitation of the Chinese imperial title, 'son of heaven', but should be understood in its Indian sense, not invented by, or, for the Kushāṇs. With the meaning 'god-son', it is found in the *Rig-Veda* (X. 62.4), in the inscriptions of Bharhut (*Luders List*, nos. 774, 814), long perior to the Kushāṇas, and also in the *Jātakamālā* Levi, citing valuable new material held it as a royal title borrowed from the Chinese (JA. CCXXIV, 1934, pp. 1-21). According to Thomas, once again, the title so commonly present in dedicatory and other inscriptions, dated in the Kanishka era and even in an inscription on the base of the statue of perhaps a Kushāna king, and on a statue of Kanishka himself, set up in the Kushāṇa valhalla at Mathura, was a complimentary epithet, current only among the Indian subjects of the Kushāṇas and therefore with its Indian meaning (B.C. Law Volume, Part ii. pp. 97ff). This designation does not seem to have been applied to the preceding Greek, Saka or Pahlava rulers.
2. A comprehensive bibliography is given in Poussain's *L'Inde aux temps des Mauryas et des Barbares Grecs, Scythes Parthes et Yue-tchi*. pp. 343 ff; in H. Deydier: *Contribution á l' étude de art du Gandhāra*, Paris. 1950, and

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also in his *La date de Kanishka. l' art du Gandhāra et la chronologie du Nord-quest de Inde* (JA. CCXXXIX (1951) pp. 133-152; and also in Ghirshman's *'Le probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans (Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale—Journal* of *World History* Vol. III. No. 3 1957 pp. 689 ff). J.E. Van Lohuizen-de Leeuw in her work *'The Scythian Period* has associated Kanishka with the Śaka era, and it is probably the only comprehensive work on the history of this period, which was ably reviewed by Prof. A.L. Basham (BSOAS, 1953. XV/1 pp. 80 ff). He also shows his preference for Dr. Lohuizen's chronology, but concludes with regret that 'an agreed chronology will never be reached on the basis of the evidence now available; only new epigraphic or other material of major importance can settle our doubts.' (p. 95).

3. Cf. Rockhill—*The Life of the Buddha* p. 240.
4. Cf. Thomas I.A. XXXII, 1903, p. 349.
5. Cf. Aśvaghosha—*Sūtrālaṁkāra,* translated by Huber (in French), Paris, 1908, Luders: *Brichstucke der Kalpanāmaṇḍiṭikā des Kumāralāta,* Leipzig, 1926; Levi JA ccxi, 1927, pp. 495 ff; Sten Konow, *Corpus* (CII) p. lxxv.
6. JASB, lv, i, 1886, p. 193.
7. CII p. lxxvi.
8. JRAS, 1903, p. 334.
9. SBAW, 1914, pp. 643 ff., also JRAS, 1914, p. 29.
10. Konow, *Op. cit.*
11. Ibid.
12. Presidential Address—Section I, Indian History Congress, Aligarh (1943) p.—Reprinted in *India & Central Asia,* p. 131.
13. *Op. cit.*
14. *Op. cit.*
15. *Cal. Review.* July 1934, p. 83 ff.
16. EI VIII pp. 196 ff. Nos. IIIa, IIIb, IIId.
17. Luders List—Appendix EI. X. Nos. 16, 17, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, JRAS 1924 p. 397 No. 2 (dated in the year 23 of Kanishka).
18. CII Vol. II(i) pp. 138 ff.
19. Ibid p. 142 ff.
20. Ibid pp. 145 ff.
21. I. 168. 'There were in this land three kings, Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, who built three towns after them. Kalhana's dating of these kings is clearly wrong, according to Konow. He agrees with Raychaudhury that Kanishka who comes last in Kalhana's list, was not the founder of the dynasty, but a later king of the same name. (CII. p. lxxx). He may have been the second Kanishka.
22. Ref. No. 5.
23. According to Thomas, Levi adduces evidence in favour of an extensive dominion of the Kushāṇas in southern India. In the *Chinese Later Han Annals,* whose author died in 445 A.D., but which does not record events later than 170 A.D. or more than a limited number later than 125 A.D. (Chavannes: *Toung-Pao II* (1907) pp. 149-50), there is an account of a kingdom of Tung-li in the following words: 'The kingdom of Tung-li has for capital the town Sha-chi. It is more than 5000 li (c. 1000 miles south-east of Tien-chu (India). It is a great kingdom. The climate and products of the country are analogous to those of T'ien-chu. It has several dozens of towns of the first order, whereof the chiefs give themselves the title King. The Great-Yueh-chi attacked that kingdom, and enslaved it. The men and women there are all eight (Chinese) feet tall—Thomas NIA. VII. Nos. 5 & 6 p. 86.
24. ibid, p. 87.
25. ibid.
26. This point would be discussed at length later on. According to fragments of a Sanskrit text found in Chinese Turkestan (*Bruchstücke der Kalpanāmaṇḍiṭikā.* p. 33), he was originally not friendly towards Buddhism, but was converted by the Patriarch Pārśva. It is inferred that Aśvaghosha became associated with Kanishka on the occasion of his expedition towards eastern India, and later strengthened the monarch in his sympathy with Buddhism (Konow. *Op. cit.* p. lxxxix).
27. The wording of the dates of the dated Kushāṇa records of the time of Kanishka, Huvishka, and Vāsudeva is radically opposed to the wordings of the Saka dates. On the other hand, as Kielhorn suggests, it is identical with the wording of the dates in the so-called Mālava-Vikrama era. (IA. XXVI, p. 153).

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The Śaka records generally use the word 'Varsha' while these of Kanishka and his successors have words like, *sa, sambat, saṁvatsara.*

28. Quoted by Konow—CII, pp. xcvi, 77.
29. CII., p. 77.
30. ibid., p. 79.
31. ibid., p. 81.
32. ibid., p. 104.
33. The Dutch Professor suggests that the year 1 of the era of Kanishka must be in or shortly after the year 200 of the old era (*Op. cit.*, p. 63). She further points out that Kanishka introduced the new era throughout his whole kingdom and did away with the old era, and that in Gandhāra during his sway only one chronological system was in use. After the fall of the dynasty, the old era which had taken root there came again into use in the North-west, and so we see in 303 of the old era coming to the fore and continuing in use until at least 399. In Mathurā, the more Indian part of the kingdom, the old era was apparently never much in use (*ibid.*, p. 62).
34. Bhandarkar. JBBRAS. XX. 1902, p 386; according to Kielhorn, the earliest known dates, pertaining to this Saṁvat are all from eastern Rajputana, chiefly from that part bordering on, or included in Mālwa. (IA. XX (1891), p. 402). The earliest record mentioning the era of Vikrama (Vikramākhyakāla) is the Dholpur stone inscription dated in the year 898, i.e., 841 A.D. (ZDMG. XL., p. 42; IA XIX (1890), p. 35. In the third century A.D. the name *Krita* was used in a number of inscriptions, recorded on the Yūpas found in eastern Rajputana. These dates have also been assigned to the Vikrama era (Altekar: E.I. XXIII, p. 52). It appears that the so-called Vikrama era was earlier known as the Krita era. It was a continuation of the old era of 58/57 B.C. (See Dikshit. AORI. XXXIV., p. 74).
35. *Op. cit.*
36. CII., p. 165.
37. Ref. No. 16.
38. Ref. No. 19.
39. Ref. No. 20.
40. CII., p. 150.
41. This problem has been discussed in *extenso* in the last chapter.
42. EI. VIII., pp. 42 ff. This point has been discussed by Basham (BSOAS. 1953., pp. 92-93) and also by Lohuizen-de-Leeuw (*Op. cit.*, p. 382). In fact the advocates of Saka era theory harp on the difficulty of making Kanishka a contemporary of Rudradāman, because of the absence of the name of the Saka overlord, if any, in his record, and the extension of the Saka kingdom as far as Sindh and Malwa which were parts of the Kushāṇa empire as well (See H. C. Ghosh, IHQ. V. (1928) p. 80., Raychaudhury. PHAI (4th ed. p. 390). We shall consider this point in discussing the extent of the empire of Kanishka, and his relations with the Śaka Kshatraps.
43. E.I., Vol. IX, p. 244.
44. *Catalogue of the Museum of Archaedogy at Sanchi,* Calcutta, 1922, pp. 30-31.
45. A comprehensive list of Kushāṇa treasure coins is wanting. At Ransi, a pot full of large copper coins was unearthed some time before 1878, containing 500 coins attributed to Wima Kadphises and Kanishka (Cunningham ASR. XIV, p. 48). Some coins of these two rulers along with a square punch-marked coins were found at Buadih (Kurda) by Carlleyle (ibid. XII, p. 40). 382 copper coins of the former, and 40 of the latter were found at Kalka-Kasauli road in the former state of Patiala (Pro. ASB. (1895) p. 82). A hoard of 450 coins—44 of Wima and 406 of Kanishka were found in excavations at Amarkot in the Swahi Tehsil, Peshawar Distt. (ASI. An. Rep. 1922-23, p. 160). These were associated with a single coin of Soter Megas. In the same district four seers of treasure trove Kushāṇa coins were found, numbering 511.—59 of Wima Kadphises, and 452 of Kanishka (ibid. 1926-27, p. 216). In the Manikiala tope, no. 2, coins of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka were found associated with the Roman denarii. (Cunningham. ASR. II, p, 162). Coins of other Kushāṇa rulers of Kanishka's group were also found in association with those of Wima. (Smith-JRAS (1913), p. 942). Other places where these have been found are Kaira (Cunningham. ASR. XXI, p. 108), Gopalpur (U.P.) (Proc. ASB. 1896, p. 100), Varanasi (Banares)—Smith EHI, p. 257 n; The most important hoard is the Ahinposh Stupa find which has its relatively chronological value. See also Banerji A.—*Kushanas in Eastern India,* JNSI. XIV, pp. 62 ff.
46. Proc. ASB (1897), p. 123.

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47. JRAS. 1913, p. 937.
48. ibid. (quoted by Kennedy).
49. It has been observed that the headdress, the style of dressing the hair, the absence of moustache, and above all, the shape of the beard and features are very similar to the head on the coins of the Roman emperors from 30 B.C. to 150 A.D. (JRAS, 1908 p. 551, also quoted in JRAS, 1913p. 918 n. 2)
50. The Indo-Greeks, Sakas, and Indo-Parthians used Greek and Kharoshthi legends on their coins. Kanishka used Greek legends only, and he and his successors adopt only the Greek alphabet. Kharoshthi disappears. According to Kennedy, Greek ceased to be a living language in general used east of the Euphrates after A.D. 100, and secondly Kanishka and his successors knew Greek. This was accepted by Tarn and Gardner (JRAS. 1913, p. 922). Down to Kanishka's time Greek unical alone were used for the Greek coin-legends. Kanishka begins with unicals, but he presently changes to a beautiful cursive script, and his successors adopt this script alone.
51. JRAS. 1913, p. 924 and note.
52. A summary of this paper in French appears in Henri Deydier *Contribution a L'etude de l'art du Gandhāra* No. 415, pp. 250 ff.
53. SBPAW. 1912, p. 83.
54. JASB. III (1930) N.S. xlvii, p. 27.
55. Deydier—*op. cit.*, p. 251.
56. J.A. No. 236, p. 63.
57. Smith—*Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol. I, p. 97.
58. Altekar—*Catalogue of the Gupta Coins of the Bayana Hoard*, p. liv, cf. his *Gupta Coinage*, p. 42.
59. Fleet—*Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* Vol. III, No. 1.
60. Marshall made certain observations on the stratification of the buildings he found at Taxila during the course of his excavations. The buildings at the Chir stupa, according to him, occur in four strata one above the other; in each stratum a different type of masonry is used in the construction, and with each stratum are associated coins of the kings or dynasties indicated as follows:—

Stratum	*Masonry construction*	*Coins*
1. Uppermost	semi-ashlar, semi-diaper	Vāsudeva and later Kushāṇa
2. Second	large diaper	Kanishka, Huvishka and Vāsudeva
3. Third	small diaper	Kadphises I and II
4. Fourth	rubble and kanjur	Saka and Pahlava

61. JRAS—1915, p. 195.
62. The views of different scholars on this point have been taken into consideration by Waddell (JRAS. 1913, pp. 945 ff.). According to Smith, the art attained its highest development during the reign of Kanishka (*Imperial Gazetteer of India* II, 115 ff). Vogel and Spooner presumed with certainty that the great flourishing period of Gandhara art had passed away before the epoch of Kanishka (ASI. An. Rep. 1908-09, pp. 33-4, 50-). According to Foucher, Kanishka occupied a middle period (*Lart greco-bouddhique du Gandhāra.* 1905, pp. 40-42).
63. Marshall. JRAS, 1909 pp. 105 ff; Konow—CII. ii. p. 134. The date of this record is questioned. Prof. A.L. Basham in a letter to the author suggests that the casket after being cleaned in the British Museum shows no trace of any date, and it is quite likely that he might not be the great Kanishka but the one mentioned in the Ara inscription.
64. JRAS. 1913.
65. JRAS 1903 ff. 49 ff.
66. *L'art Greco-Bouddhique* pp. 40 ff.
67. JRAS 1913. pp. 946 ff. Waddell put forward the following facts for consideration. Firstly, there is no evidence that the Gandhara or Graeco-Buddhist art existed before the epoch of Kanishka. Menander or possibly Gondophernes' introduction of Graeco-Buddhist art is a pure assumption unsupported by any fact. Secondly the style of Gandhāra art is relatively late, and is incompatible with a date before the Christian era. He questions Fergusson that Gandhāra sculptures are much more Roman than Greek in their general design, and more Byzantine than either (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* p. 182). Thirdly, the motive of Gandhāra art is largely late and incompatible with a date before the Christian era. Its mythology is generally that of the theistic

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Lalitavistara. Lastly, the zenith of Gandhara art was probably not reached until the third or fourth century A.D. The later date is based on the figured Corinthian capitals and the other motives and style of the fine sculptures, in keeping with mixed Indo-Grecian style found at Mathurā and Amravati.

68. A short account of the excavations and their results is given by Ghirshman in his *Fouilles de Begram* (JA No. ccxxxiv, 1943-45 pp. 59 ff.) with a brief exposition of the date of Kanishka. A comprehensive account is given in his *Begram, Récherches archeologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans* (Cairo, 1946). The French scholar has discussed the date of Kanishka in his *'Le probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans,* based on archaeological and other historical sources in *Cahiers d'histoiremondiale 'Journal of World History'.* (Vol. III. 1957—henceforth *Cahiers*).
69. J.A. No. 234 p. 70; *Cahires d' Histoire Mondiale* Op. cit. p. 713-4.
70. *Cahiers* p. 710.
71. ibid p. 708.
72. According to Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, 'although the latest Kushāna coins found by Ghirshman in Begram were those of Vāsudeva I, there is not the slightest proof that the destroyer of the city was Ardashir I. Another feat of arms which is attributed to this king by Ghirshman viz. the conquest of Peshawar,, is doubted by Kramers who does not believe in the equalization, Pskbur =Peshawar (*The Scythian Period.* pp. 319-20).
73. IC. Vol. VIII pp. 191 ff; JIH Vol. XX pp. 275 ff.
74. Out of the dated Kushāṇa records only two may be taken into consideration, as these alone refer to the Nakshatras The Zeda inscription (CII. p. 142) of the year 11 of King Kanishka mentions *Uttaraphalgunī Nakshatra* on the 20th day of the month of *Āshāḍha.* The Und inscription (ibid p. 170) of the year 61 mentions *Purvāshāḍhā Nakshatra* on the 8th day of the month of *Chaitra.* These dates have been worked out by scholars. Sten Konow, with the help of Von Wijk first suggested 134 A.D. as the initial year of Kanishka's era I.H.Q. II p. 180 later changing over to 128/9 A.D. He points out, Dr. Von. Wijk had done so (AO.III. pp. 83 ff; V. pp. 168 ff) and arrives at the result that the only set of years within the limits with which we can reasonably reckon, which fulfils the conditions, is Kaliyuga 3240 for the Zeda, and 3290 for the Und Inscription (CII. p. xciii) H.C. Ghosh fixed 89 A.D. expired) for the Zeda inscription, that is to say, the Kushāṇa era, according to him, started in 78 A.D. of 79 current. (IHQ. IV 928. p. 764).
75. IC Vol. I p. 477.
76. This was discussed in our Paper on *Some Dates of the Kushāṇa Kharoshthi Records and their bearing on the initial year of the Kushāṇa era* (I.C. Vol. VII pp. 49 ff).
77. JA IX VIII 1895 pp. 444 ff. IX, 1897, pp. 526 ff.: IA. xxxii, 1903 pp. 381 ff.: xxiii, 1904, pp. 110 ff.
78. CII. ii p. lxxvi.
79. ibid. Konow infers that the Khotana *Mahāraya Rājatiraja* Hinajha (?) Avijidasimha of the Turkestan document No. 661, used the same era as that of Kanishka, which was established on the occasion of the great consolidation of Kushana Power which led to the expedition to Eastern India.
80. J.A. IX viii. 1896 p. 463; Bagchi: *K B. Pathok Commemoration Volume* p. 94 ff.
81. Chavannes— *Toung Pao* II vii 1906 pp. 330.
82. Sylvain Levi—J.A. xi, ii, 1913 pp. 330.
83. Beal. *Buddhist Records* I p. 173; See Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, *Op. cit.* p. 382.
84. JA IX viii, 1896 pp. 482.
85. Op.cit. p. 384.
86. IHQ Vol. V (1929) p. 71; Maspero, BEFEO X 1910 pp. 95 ff.
87. *Toung Pao* II. v. p. 489.
88. Sten Konow CII. II p. lxxvii.
89. *Cahiers d' Histoire Mondiale*—Op. cit. p. 713.
90. Lohuizen—Op.cit. p. 318.
91. JA 234 (1943-5) pp. 59; also ref. 89.
92. *Pro. Ind. History. Cong.* (Hyderabad) p. 163.
93. op. cit
94. E.I. Vol. VIII pp. 179 ff; I.A. Vol. VI p. 217; Vol. XXXII p. 39.
95. Coins of Kanishka were found at Bhita (ASI.An.Rep. 1911-12, pp. 34, 63) Pātaliputra (ibid. 1912-13 pp. 79, 84). Those of Huvishka at Bhita (*op. cit*) and Vāsudeva too at Bhita (*op. cit.* p. 65). Three Kushāṇa coins were found in

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north Bengal (JASB 1932, p. 127). A hoard of Kushāṇa coins from the time of Wima Kadphises to Vāsudeva was found at Buxar. According to Altekar, it consisted of 23 coins of Wima Kadphises, 159 of Kanishka, 172 of Huvishka and 38 undeciphered ones. (JNSI. XII. pp. 121 ff.). A coin of Huvishka was found near Vajrasana in Bodh-Gaya by Cunningham. Kushana coins were also found at Vaisali and at Kumarahara in Patna in 1956 excavations. A large number of terracottas with characteristic Kushāṇa features and dress were also found at Kumrahāra (*Bihar through the ages* p. 205). See also JNSI XIII (1) pp. 62-65.

96. According to Sten Konow, citing the annals of the Li country, (Thomas *Literary texts and documents concerning Chinese Turkestan* pt. i., London, 1935. (p. 119) 'Originally King Kanishka and the king of the Gu-zan and the Li ruler, king Vijaykīrti, and others led an army into India and captured a city named Soked' (evidently Sāketa).' Similarly the translation of Kumaralata's *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā* by *Kumārajīva* (c. 405 A.D.) states that *Chen-tan* (old pronunciation, according to Karlgran Nos. 1194 and 967 (Tsien-de'an), Kanishka conquered Tung tien-chu i.e. eastern India (Levi. JA. IX viii, 1896, p. p. 457; IA XXXII, 1903. p. 385; Sten Konow. IHQ XIV. p. 149).
97. JBORS I p. 232.
98. ibid. V p. 78.
99. JASB xxviii p. 127.
100. *Op. cit.*
101. Majumdar-Sastri—*Ancient India* by *Ptolemy* p. 212.
102. *Melanges Charles de Harlez, Leyden*, 1896 pp. ff. cf. Sten Konow CII p. xxi.
103. *Gupta Coins*—Introduction p. xxix.
104. IC III p. 727 ff. T.N. Ramachandran 'Find of Puri Kushana coins from Sitabhinji (Kumrahar) (JNSI, xiii, i (1951); cf. A. Banerji '*Kushāṇas in Eastern India*' (JNSI xiii pp. 107-9.) The Orissa finds come under the domination of Kanishka.
105. IHQ xiv. p. 149.
106. Beal: *Buddhist records of the western world*, Vol. I p. 50.
107. JRAS. 1942 p. 19.
108. The Kushana rule in Central Asia, including Balkh and Khotan, is based on the records from Mathurā, and the recent archaeological excavations conducted by Tolstov, chief of the Soviet archaeological mission. He points to the expansion of the empire of the grand Kushāṇas and the annexation of Chorasmie. From the third century A.D. appear the coins with the bust of the kings to the right, their faces long, barbarian with the headress inspired by those of Ardeshir I, Shapur I, Bahram II, and of Hormizd II. Talstov presumes that this signifies the end of the Kushāṇas. (Quoted by Ghirshman, *Cahiers* p. 701). He also notes that the most ancient of the coins were found with those of Vāsudeva I. Three years back it was announced that Russian archaeologists working on a site in southern Uzbekistan close to the Afghan border unearthed what they believed to be Kushāṇa palace, suggesting that the Kushāṇas weilded power from Aral sea to Northern India (INS. Sept. 18. 1961). It is clear from the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 28, and several other records mentioning the term Bakanapati, that this country formed part of the Kushāna empire, and the lords from Bakana=Wakhana used to frequent Mathura (EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.).
109. Op.cit.
110. JASB IX (1943) pp. 79 ff.).
111. CII. Vol. II (1) p. 175. Suivihar in Bhawalpur State does not appear to have been a terminal post of the Kushāṇa empire under Kanishka in the south-west. As we presumed in the case of the eastern limits of his empire, Kanishka's hold probably extended further south to include portions of Sindh as well. The Tordher Potsherds bearing Kushāṇa letters might be suggestive of the extension of the Kushāṇa empire further south-west to Suivihar. (Cf. Ojha—*History of Rajputana* p. 111).
112. Ref. Junagarh inscription of Rudradāman (E.I. Vol. VIII), and for the inscription of Vāsiskha at Sāñchī (EI. II p. 369).
113. D.R. Bhandarkar IA. 1918 p. 153 thought that Kuśanamula in the Junagarh record had reference to the overlord Kushanas. According to Sten Konow (CII p. lxviii), the governors of Yen-Kao-chen in T'ien-chu were no doubt the so-called Western Kshatrapas.
114. JRAS 1925 p. 9—According to Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, it is quite unacceptable that the Western Kshatrapas who used the Śaka era and who were the Vassalas

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of Kanishka and his successors, used another than their feudal lords. Konow's suggestion (IHQ. IV. pp. 760-4) that they were the Vassalas of Wima Kadphises has been refuted by Thomas (*Sandanes Nahapāna* etc. op. cit. NIA.).

115. JBORS XV p. 52.
116. PHAI (5th ed. p. 621).
117. Levi quoted a passage from the *Chinese Later Han Annals* whose author died in 445 A.D., but which does not record events later than 170 A.D. in which there is an account of a kingdom of Tung-li. Its capital was Sha-chi, more than 3,000 li (c. 1000 males) south-east of T'ienchu (India). The Great Yueh-chi attacked that kingdom and enslaved it. In the Wei Luo, a text composed during the period 239-265 A.D. there is a reference to the kingdom and its subjugation by the Yueh-chi along with T'ien-chu. The two are distinguished. So Tung-li must be different.
118. Op.cit. p. 92.
119. ibid p. 95.
120. Op.cit. CII.
121. Op.cit.
122. Op.cit.
123. Op.cit.
124. Kern—*Manual of Buddhism* p. 121.
125. For a comprehensive account of the excavations here, see ASIAR, 1908-9 pp. 38 ff. 1909-10 pp. 135 ff; Marshall JRAS, 1909, pp. 1056 ff. On the location of the Stupa and its identification, see ASIFC, 1907-8, pp. 17 ff; 1908-9 pp. 14 ff. See also Foucher—*L'art Greco-Buddhique du Gandhāra* II. p. 440).
126. This point is doubtful. In a letter written to me Prof. A.L. Basham of London, who examined it recently, denies any references to the date in the inscription. The casket was recently sent to the British Museum for cleaning.
127. JA, 1896, II. p. 444.
128. On the council of Kanishka—see Hiuen-Tsang-Memoires, I, 172, Beal I, p. 117, 151; Watters, I. 274-276; Takakusu, JRAS 1905, p. 415, JPTS, 1905, p. 123; Toung-Pao, 1904 (*A study of the Paramārtha's life of Vasubandhu, cf. Poussain: L' Inde aux temps des Mauryas* etc. pp. 326-7.
129. For details see JA, 1897, II, p. 528 cf. Poussain—*L' Inde au temps des Mauryas* etc. p. 328.
130. Thomas IA 1903, p. 345; 1904, p. 31, 1905, p. 145; Levi JA 1896, II. p. 449, 455; 1897, I.p. 1. According to Mr. Shackleton Bailey, it was Kanishka II to whom Mātricheta addressed his counsels. (*The Śatapañchāsataka* of Mātricheta pp. 3-4; cf. S.R. Vidyabhushana used Tārānātha's testimony to argue that the Epistle was written by a second Mātricheta to the second Kanishka (or Kanika) (JASB, 1910, pp. 477 ff.).
131. Poussain—Op. cit. p. 325.
132. Ref. Mathurā Yūpa Inscription of the year 24 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Deva-putra Vāsishka, (Vogel—*Cat. Math. Mus.* No. Q 13; Sahni, D.R., JRAS 1910, p. 1311 ff. note by Fleet, ibid p. 1315 q; .Luders List No. 149, 9. The Sanchi Bodhisattva inscription of the year 28, of *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Deva putra Vāsishka* (E.I. II, p. 39; IX pp. 244-5; JRAS. 1903, pp. 326 ff. *Cat. Sanchi Museum.* 30 No. A. 82).
133. This inscription was edited by Banerji (IA. xxxvii, 1908, pp. 58 ff.), Luders (SBAW, 1912, pp. 824 ff. translated in IA, xlii, 1913, pp. 132 ff; cf. JRAS, 1909, p. 652): Sten Konow (SBAW, 1916, pp. 805 ff; EI, xiv, pp. 130 ff; CII, II(i) pp.
134. I.C. Vol. VIII—in my Paper on the Later Kushāṇas or *Kushāṇaputras.*
135. Lüder's List No. 33—Only the letters—*shkasya* are left. According to Growse, the inscription possibly referred to Kanishka (IA vi p. 217, No. 1). The dialect of this record is mixed, unlike the Sanskrit one of the record of Vāsishka of the Year 24 from Īśāpur (Mathurā).
I. A 1903 p. 388.
136. E.I. Vol. XXI p. 55. The term Bakanapati occurs in several other records. The famous Mat inscription engraved on the stone pedestal of an image (JRAS. 1924 p. 401, No. 31) mentions a certain official (name beginning with Saukra) who held the title or designation *Bakanapati,* and was the son of a *Mahādanda-nāyaka.* This official had got the devakula of Huvishka's grand father repaired.
137. SBAW, 1912, p. 827, CII. II p. lxxxi.
138. Vogel. *Cat. Mat Mus.* No.C. 13.
139. EI. 1 p. 387, No. 9; Luders—List No. 42.
140. Luder's List No. 43.
141. I.A. XXIII, 1904. p. 101.

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142. EI. I. p. 204 No. xx.
144. *Carmichael Lectures* 1921 pp. 22-23.
145. Banerji J., *Development of Hindu Iconography*. p. 146.
146. *The Age of Imperial Unity*—(Bhavan's History of India) Vol. II p. 439.
147. IHQ xii pp. 153-6.
148. The term *devakula* was interpreted by Jayaswal (as meaning "a royal gallery of portrait statues similar to the one described in *Prtimā Nāṭaka* of Bhāsa, Act iii (JBORS March 1919, pp. 98-9). Sahni agreed with Jayaswal (JRAS, 1924 p. 493). This building must have been of the same kind. According to Sahni, it was impossible to suggest if the *devakula* of this inscription was the same as the one mentioned in the inscription of Vima (Vama-taksha) like the statue-hall (*pratimā-griha*) in Bhasa's play, containing portraits of four successive kings of the Ikshvaku race, it was possible to imagine that the *devakula* at Mat near Mathura might likewise have been the family *pratimāgriha of the Kushāṇa rulers*. (ibid). One inscription refers to the setting up of a Bodhisattva statue in the *devachaya* (JRAS 1924, p. 400 No. 1).
149. *Progress Report Archaeological Survey Western Circle*. (PRASWC 1906-7 p. 31).
150. *Numismatic Chronicle* 1892 pp. 117, 118.
151. IA xxxiii. 1904 p. 101; Cunningham ASR III p. 33. On the identification of Udiyana; see Deydier=*contribution à l'etude de l'art du Gandhāra* pp. 114 ff. in which views of all scholars are noticed with reference to older literary texts. It is the old Sanskrit name of Swat. S. Levi believed that it represents the ancient country of Khotan which the Chinese transcribed as *Yu-t'-ien* (JA 1915 p. 110). Its ancient capital is identified by Stein with Manglaor.
152. CII—II p. 137-1.3;
153. ibid pp. 170 ff.
154. *Pro.Ind.Hist.Cong.* Hyderabad p. 163.
155. J.A. 246 pp. 345 ff.
156. CII II (i) pp. 162 ff.
157. ASIAR. 1911-12 pp. 95 ff.
158. CII, I (I) p. 117.
159. ASIAR 1912-13 pp. 10-12, 1935-36 pp. 33-35; 1915-16 pp. 1-38.
160. Ghirshman—*La Chronologie des Kouchans*—op. cit. p. 698.
161. Chavannes—*Toung Pao* II. ii. p. 489.
162. Lohuizen de Liew—*The Scythian Period* p. 319;
163. Op. cit. p. 701.
164. Ref. No. 154.
165. E.I. IX pp. 243 ff. Lüders List No. 62.
166. E.I. IX pp. ff. Lüders List No. 60.
167. ibid.
168. ASR III, p. 35 No. 18.
169. JASB Vol. V p. 6 No. 7; *Vogel-Cat.* Mat. Mus. No. B4.
170. For fuller details see R. Ghirshman, *Begram, Recherches archéologiques et historiques sur les Kouchans (Le Cairo,* 1946). See also his paper on *Le Probleme de la chronologie* des Kouchans—(Cahiers *d' histoire Mondiale—Journal of World History*—III. (3), 1957, pp. 689 ff. (1957). This account is based on the other paper.
171. For the inscription, See M. Sprengling, *Third Century Iran, Sapor and Kartir*, Chicago, 1953.
172. Views quoted in Ghirshman's Paper—*Le Probleme* etc. (Op. cit.), p. 699 for the original paper see E. Honingmann et A. Maricq, *Recherches sur les (Res Gestae Divi Sapories)*." Bruxellus 1953 pp. 98-110.
173. JA. ccxvii (1952) p. 43.

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CHAPTER IV

THE LATER KUSHĀṆAS

The Later Kushāṇas figure in ancient Indian history not as chips of the old regal block scattered here and there, and noticed insignificantly in obscure reference, but as a complete unit. It has been made clear in the last chapter that after the year 99 of Kanishka's era, Vāsudeva ceases to rule. In the north-west there seems to be an eclipse of his power, as inferred from the excavations at Begram, but the eastern portion of the Kushāṇa empire was unaffected by the political upheavals at the other end. A set of inscriptions from Mathurā and Sāñchī suggest that these parts continued to be ruled by the Kushāṇa rulers. One such inscription[1] mentions the ruler as Kushāṇaputra, which might imply that he was the descendant of the earlier family, and not the son of the first Kushāṇ ruler, as presumed by Jayaswal.[2] Kushāṇa was a family name, and not the name of an individual. The Manikiāla inscription[3] is very specific on this point in referring to Lala as *Gushaṇavasaṁvardhaka*,—a scion of the Kushāṇa family. Instances are not rare in Indian history to suggest that the second dynasty is named after the first, as for example, the Chālukyas succeeded the Chalukyas, and the Kādambas the Kadambas. It is, therefore, not unusual to presume that the Kushānaputra of the Mat record was a descendant of the earlier family and the use of the epithets—*Mahārājā-Rājātirāja Devaputra* signify continuity in the genealogical link. The history of this third Kushāṇa family may be recorded on the basis of the epigraphic records, numismatic evidence, chronological considerations, palaeographic study of the inscriptions and their language, and lastly archaeological evidence.

Shāhi Vamataksha: The undated inscription[4] recorded on the colossal image of Shāhi Vamataksha from the ancient site of Mat, in Mathura records the erection of the temple *(devakula)*, a garden (*ārāma*), and a well (*udapāna*) by a Bakanapati whose name began with the syllable Hūma. This name is uncommon, and read in context with his title, the donor appears to be a foreigner, the term Bakanapati occurs in two other records—of the time of Huvishka,[5] including one from Mat itself.[6] The record is important in another respect as well. It records the erection of the temple (*devakula*). The other one mentioning the *devakula* from Mat records its repair. It can be suggested that this record might be

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earlier than that of the time of Huvishka, but except for the reference to *devakula* the other contents are different. There is no reference to the garden and the well in the other record. Moreover, the Mat inscription of the time of Huvishka mentions the father of the Bakanapati, whose name began with the syllables Māsha, but the Bakanapati of the Kushānaputra Vamataksha does not mention the name of his father. The two seem to be unrelated and the devakula set up by the Vamataksha Bakanapati must have been an independent structure. Unfortunately it is not possible to suggest the number of devakulas at Mat. From the point of view of political history Vamataksha figures as a Kushāna ruler. This ruler is identified by some scholars[7] with Vimataksha or Wima Kadphises, taking Kushāna to be the name of the first ruler Kujula-Kadphises. We, however, suggest that he was a scion of the Kushāṇa family, who usurped the throne at Mathurā after the death of Vāsudeva, and he might be the first ruler of the third Kushāṇa family. Since he did not issue any coins, his reign might be of a short duration.

Kanishka II: The name of king Kanishka figures in an inscription recovered from an enclosed part of the Dalpati-Ki-Khirki Mohalla, and published by D. R. Sahni in the 'Epigraphia India'.[8] The date of this record has been a subject of contention among scholars. According to Sahni it is dated in the year 14. It is important in other ways as well. It is the first Kushāṇa record in which the month is quoted by the Hindu solar name, instead of the seasonal one, as in other records. Secondly Buddha is mentioned for the first time as a Deva (*Buddhasya svamatsya devasya*). Thirdly, the palaeography of the record brings it closer to the eastern variety Gupta Script.[9] The find spot of the inscription may also be taken into consideration. It was found in an elevated part of the Dalpat-Ki-Khirki Mohalla, and not in Kankali tila where the inscriptions of Kanishka and his successors were found. The inscription records the setting up the image of Buddha by Sanghila on the 10th day of the month of Pausha in the year 14 of Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka. Two eminent epigraphists have studied the palaeography of the record and tried to suggest different dates. F. W. Thomas suggests[10] that the two forms in the year and in the day of the inscription —both being read as 10, show divergence, and nor do other considerations mentioned by Daya Ram Sahni seem to preclude a reading of the year-number as '104'. A Kanishka ruling in the year 104, or even 204, is not surprising. A relatively late 'Kaneshko' has always been admitted. Thomas goes a step further in suggesting that even a Kanishka of the year 204, if not later than about the end of the 3rd century A.D., would not be impossible; at any rate the *Devaputra Shāhanushāhis*, though as early as c 240 A.D. they lost

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Baktria to the Sassanids, survived in Gandhāra and perhaps in the Punjab and Mathurā long enough to be in touch with Samudragupta.

Prof. V. V. Mirashi, on the other hand, reads[11] the first symbol of the letter as 50, and dates the record in the year 54. He identifies this Kanishka with the one of the Ara inscription, and explains the overlapping of the reigns of Huvishka and Kanishka II, by suggesting that there was a civil war in the Kushāṇa empire after the death of Vāsishka. At first Kanishka II was victorious and he ruled as Emperor till the year 41. Sometime between 41 and 50 he suffered reverses at the hands of Huvishka who reduced him to a subordinate position. Soon thereafter both of them were defeated by some one else and made to assume the subordinate rank of Mahārāja. The learned professor seems to lay much stress on the absence of the titles and speculates on these implausible pieces of evidence. Kanishka I is called *Mahārāja Rājātiraja Devaputra* in the Suivihar inscription[12] dated in the year 11, (16 miles S.W. of Bahawalpur), while in the Zeda inscription[13] of the same year he is simply called *Muroda Mārjhaka Kanishka*—translated as the Lord, *Marjhaka Kanishka*. Does it imply the loss of imperial status in the same year? These records were not official prasastis, but simply those of private donations or dedications, and the donors don't seem to have been well-versed in the official protocol in the matter of mentioning the name of the ruler with his full title. The other part of Mirashi's contention relating to the civil war after Vasishka's death would be considered when we discuss the identification of Kanishka of the Ara inscription.

We had occasion to examine the estamtage of the record and also saw the inscription in original recorded on the Pedestal, now in the Patna Museum, and we feel that apparently there is not much of difference in the symbol for ten—used both for the year and the month. The only thing is that in the other case the two knobs are more pronounced than in the former. Historical imagination and chronological considerations stand in the way of accepting Prof. Mirashi's suggestion. We have to admit the existence of this Kanishka, not as identical with the one of the Ara inscription but as an independent ruler of the next Kushāṇa family which followed Vāsudeva. The date of this record—14, as suggested by Sahni may be accepted, and we can well explain it being in an era of omitted hundreds. Vāsudeva's records are found in the year 98 or 99, and it is rather curious that Kanishka's era does not extend beyond two digits. As we have suggested earlier, there does not seem to be any break up of the Kushāṇa empire at Mathura after Vāsudeva. Vamataksha who styles himself as *Kushāṇaputra*, was a scion of the family, followed by Kanishka II of the Mathurā inscription of the year 14. He seems to have ruled till the year 20, followed by Vaskushāṇa or Vāsishka.

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Vaskushāṇa-Vāsishka: The next Kushāṇa ruler of the third family appears to be Vaskushāṇa-Vāsishka. Three records of this ruler have been found. It is generally suggested that the two were different—the former might have been just a local ruler of Sāñchī, while the latter whose two records dated in the years 24 and 28 were recovered from Mathura and Sāñchī, respectively was the son of the first Kanishka and preceded Huvishka. Unfortunately no coin of Vāsishka has been found, but there are coins of Vasu in the later Kushāṇa group. The absence of the coins of Vāsishka, coupled with the existence of Kushāna Mahārāja Vaskushāṇa at Sāñchī in the year 22 in the life time of Kanishka I, and his son Kanishka of the Ara inscription, as a Mahārāja Rājātiraja Kaisara in the time of Huvishka weigh heavily against Vāsishka's claim as a ruler between Kanishka I and Huvishka. He should better be placed in the third Kushāna family. The epigraphic and numismatic source may be considered in this connection in all aspects.

The first record of this ruler is dated in the year 22, and it is recorded on the pedestal of the standing image of the Buddha from Sāñchī.[14] His titles are mutilated except Rājan (*Rājno Vaskushāṇasya*). The term Rājan, even in the absence of other titles, is significant. It suggests the independent status of this ruler. Scholars had more or less ignored this ruler, who seems to be an important figure in later Kushāṇa history. Marshall remarked[15] that possibly he was a foreigner who came to power in and around Mathurā after the fall of Vāsudeva Kushāṇa. The identification of this ruler with Vāsishka seems to rest on surer ground, as another inscription of the time of Vāsishka is found on the pedestal of a seated *Bodhisattva* figure in *dhyānamudrā* from the same place (Sañchī).[16] It is dated in the year 28 of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsishka. An earlier inscriptic of the time of Vāsishka dated in the year 24[17] is inscribed on a Yūpa recovered from Īśāpur in Mathura. This inscription is in pure Sanskrit, unlike the mixed dialect in which the Kushāna records are found; and it mentions the setting up of the Yūpa.

Now in connection with the identification of Vaskushāṇa with Vāsishka several factors have to be taken into consideration. The palaeography of the two records from Sāñchī, their language and contents are equally important.[18] The language of both is identical—the first one records the dedication of an image of Bhagavat Śākyamuni (*Bhagavato Sakyam (un) eh pratishṭāpitā*), the other one refers to the installation of an image of Bhagvat Bodhisattava (*Bodhisattva Bhag(va)tasya pratishṭāpitā*). Both the statues were found in excavations. The palaeography does not show any appreciable difference. It can be presumed, if both are identical, that possibly

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Vāsishka was deputising for his father—Kanishka in the year 22, but the record definitely mentions *Rājan* besides other titles which are mutilated.[19] So Vaskushāṇa was an independent ruler. It can also be argued that if Vāsishka belonged to the Later Kushāṇa family, then how do we account for the gap between the year 23, possibly the last year of Kanishka, and the year 28, the first of Huvishka? The answer to this point is suggested by a record which was noticed by Growse.[20] It is dated in the year 28 *hemanta*. The record runs as . . . *shkasya rāja samvatsare 28 hemanta*. As the full name of the ruler is not given, it could either be Kanishka or Huvishka. According to Growse the king was most probably Kanishka, for the end of the tail of *ṇa* is just visible and his other inscriptions were found on the same spot. Kanishka I, therefore, seems to have ruled till the year 28 followed by Huvishka. The absence of the coins of Vāsishka is inexplicable. Otherwise a ruler with the big titles like *Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi* with his reign extending over at least 4 years, if not more, was not expected to remain in obscurity. The coins of Vasu of the later Kushāṇa family have been found. A noticeable feature in these coins is the appearance of Brāhmī letters. This ruler was the father of king Kanishka of the Ara inscription.

Kanishka III: King Kanishka of the Ara inscription[21] dated in the year 41, has been a puzzling figure to those historians who tried to settle the floating islands of Kushāṇa chronology. It is difficult to account for a Kushāṇa ruler with such high sounding titles in the year 41, while Huvishka enjoyed an unbreakable reign from the year 28 to 62. The inscription records that during the reign of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja, Devaputra, Kaisara Kanishka, the son of Vājheshka, in the forty-first year, on the twenty fifth day of the month Jyaishṭha, a well was dug by Dashavhara of the Peshawarian scions (*Poshapuria-putraṇa*). The name of his father Vajheshka is rightly identified with Vāsishka, but if we place the latter after Kanishka I and before Huvishka, this Kanishka becomes a sudden intruder. Some scholars identified this Kanishka with Kanishka I,[22] and presumed that he ruled for over forty years—and his sons Vāsishka and Huvishka were only deputising for him with the titles of Mahārāja, but the sovereignty vested in Kanishka himself. He was probably away at that time from India. The other alternative suggested by Lüders and Sten Konow[23] is the presumption of a division of the empire after Kanishka between Vāsishka and Huvishka and the latter succeeding Vāsishka's son Kanishka of the Ara inscription over the whole Kushāṇa empire, comprising the eastern and the western wings. Unfortunately both these suggestions are unacceptable. Though it is not impossible, but it is improbable for Kanishka to have ruled for such a long time entrusting his empire to his two sons whose names

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figure prominently in all the donatory or dedicators records, while in this solitary record the Peshawarian scions think of the old emperor. On the other hand if there was a division of the empire, Huvishka getting the eastern half and Vāsishka the western portion where his son Kanishka II's record is found, then how do we account for Vāsishka's records in Huvishka's dominion in Mathurā and Sāñchī, with the titles of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra and Shāhi, while a lord from Badakshah in the north-west (Bakanapati) acknowledges the suzerainty of Huvishka.[2] The only solution to the problem of Kanishka of the Ara inscription is to place him in the Later Kushāṇa family as the son of Vājheshka=Vāsishka. Both these monarchs issued coins but if we fix them in the earlier group their existence to numismatic sources is denied.

This Kanishka of the Ara record appears to be the same as mentioned in the inscription from Afghanistan[24] dated in the year 31 from the ruins of the Kushāṇa sanctuary of Surkh-Kotal. The writing is Tukharian derived directly from the Cursive Greek in usuage in Iran in the Parthian epoque. The very first line mentions the place-an edifice of Kanishka, the victorious, very much like the *deva-kula*, as suggested by Maricq. The date of this record is the year 31 of Nisan—a Babylonian month. A connected and complete translation of the record is not given; and for purpose of political history and chronology, we are interested only in the date. One thing seems certain, namely, the identity of this Kanishka with the one of the Ara inscription. It is very likely that Vāsishka or Vājeshka ruled till the year 30 and was followed by Kanishka III who ruled till the year 45 or so. Details concerning the political history of the later Kushāṇas lie in obscurity, but certain Numismatic and archaeological data might be taken into consideration.

Numismatic Evidence:: The Numismatic evidence suggests only two Later Kushāna rulers—Kanishka and Vasu. Altekar tried to fix up the history of the Punjab, Sindh and Afghanistan on the basis of the coins of the kings ruling in these provinces and their contemporaries in Iran and Bactria.[25] According to his scheme, Vāsudeva was followed by Kanishka III who ruled for 30 years, followed by Vāsudeva II (C. 210 to C 230 A.D.) in whose reign the position of the Kushāṇas became very critical and their days were numbered. We are not interested in his hypothetical associations and arbitrary fixation of dates and order of precedence. It is difficult to suggest if Kanesko of the later Kushāṇa family whose coins have been found was Kanishka II of the Mathurā inscription of the year 14, or Kanishka III of the Surkh Kotal and Ara records of the year 31 and 41 respectively. Vasu can, of course, be identified with Vaskushāṇa or Vāsishika. The coins of Kanishka were found in the Punjab.

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Sesistan and Afghanistan, and they bear the monogram of Vāsudeva, which also figures on the coins of the later Kushāṇa ruler Vasu. The Brāhmī letters are found on the coins of both along with the corrupt Greek legend, in Whitehead's catalogue.[26] The Reverse of Vasu's (two coins) a stater and a quarter one, have the goddess Ardoksho seated on throne to front holding fillet and Cornucopiae. The four staters and a quarter stater coins of Kanishko listed in his catalogue have[27] only OHPO on the reverse, although in the second type of his coins Ardoksho replaces OHPO. Are we to presume that the coins of Vasu are nearer to those of Vāsudeva, than Kanishka, thus assigning him earlier than the latter? In that case we shall have to presume that these coins were really those of Kanishka III. Altekar further presumes[28] that the Brāhmī letters *Vi, Si,* and *Bhri* occurring on the coins of Kanishka signified the initial letters of governors ruling over different parts of his extensive dominion. Additional letters like *Pa, Na, Ga, Chu, Khu, Tha* and *Vai* etc. also occur. The appearance of these letters on the coins of these two Later Kushāṇas is a mystery which should remain enveloped. For the present we can only suggest that the coins of Vasu and Kanishko probably refer to Vāsishka and Kanishka of the Ara inscription.

Archaeological Evidence: The archaeological evidence on the position of the later Kushāṇas is best summarised by Ghirshman[29] from several sites—Begram, Surkh-Kotal, Qala-i-Mir, Kai-Kobad. Airtam-Termez and Tali—Barzou, near Samarkand. All the six sites indicate an indeniable unity in archaeological and numismatic contexts. Some of these, the city or the temple constructed under the Grand Kushāṇas submitted to destruction, and certainly disappeared under a cover of ashes. After a brief interruption, life resumed in a new city, rebuilt on the preceding one (except at Airtam where the site was abandoned) and that happened under the third dynasty of the Kushāṇas or the Later Kushāṇas. A comparative study has also been made by him. The late Kushāṇa phase at Kobadian V yielded the same type of pottery as at Begram III and at Tali-Barzou. Three coins from the most recent stratum include a stater of Vāsudeva III, according to Ghirshman (Vāsudeva II, according to Bachhofer—actually we have no information about a third Vāsudeva) a copper piece similar to one from Begram III belonging to the third Kushāṇa dynasty, and lastly perhaps one of Wima Kadphises. The break up between the IVth and Vth occupational level at Kobadian has been attributed to the success of Shapur I with his compaign and his victory over Vāsudeva I, as suggested by Diakonov. Then the date of Kobadian V would be the second half of the third and the first half of the fourth century A.D. It is, therefore, suggested

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that despite the temporary break up of the Kushāṇa power, in the north-west consequent to the victory of Shapur I, the later Kushāṇas managed to assert themselves. The archaeological evidence from different sites coordinated by Ghirshman in his latest paper. suggest that fire and destruction was followed by new activity under the Later Kushāṇas. The Sassanian influence might have been perceptible, but the Later Kushāṇas followed in the foot-steps of their predecessors—the Grand Kushāṇas.[29]

It is difficult to suggest the date of the final extinction of this dynasty, although the epigraphic records could only point to Kanishka III as the last ruler. Very probably in Northern India the Yaudheyas, the Kunindas, the Mālavas, the Nāgas and the Maghas struck at the root of the Kushāṇa power.[30] The process of disintegration of the Kushāṇa empire was probably gradual and not sudden. Even though the Kushāṇas ceased to be a political force in Northern India, Samudragupta had some contemporary Daivaputra Shāhānushāhi—an independent or semi-independent ruler exercising sway over Kabul and a part of the Punjab, and possibly other territories further to the west.[31] Thus, ends the last phase of Kushāṇa political history. The Kushāṇa princes however, continued to figure of and on even in later times. In the later part of the fourth or early in the fifth century A.D. the Kushāṇas came to acquire a new designation—the Kidāra Kushāṇas. They established their rule over Gandhāra and Kashmir where a large number of their coins in pale and much debased gold have been found.[32] The name of the issuing chiefs read on them are all Indian—Kritivīrya, Sarvayaśa, Bhāsvan, Śilāditya, Prakāśa and Kuśala—they cannot be arranged chronologically, nor can their order of succession or the period of rule be ascertained. Their coins are crude copies of the 'sacrificing king and the enthroned Ardoksho' type of the Later Kushāṇas, as are those of the Gadahāra or Gadakhara, tribe which is supposed to have mastered part of the dominions of the Kidara Kushānas when the power of the latter was on the wane. Both appear to have succumbed to the onslaught of the Hūṇas in the fifth century A.D., thus fading even the last remnant of the Kushāṇas.

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1. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12 pp. 120 ff.
2. JBORS VI (1920) pp. 12 ff.
3. Op. cit.
4. Vogel's reading of the inscription in line 3 (Ref. 1) *Bakanpatinā Hūma deva-kula Kārita* and that of Jayaswal *Barkānapatinā Huma-Kshan* (o) *deva-kula Kārita* is questioned by S.K. Dikshit (ABORI xxxvii p. 47 ff.) He reads it as *Bakana-patinā 200-70 1.... 1 divas* (e) *Kārita*, and suggests that the inscription is dated in the year 271 (of the Vikrama era). As regards the name of the ruler in this record—Vema Takshama,—he is not to be identified with Wima Kadphises, since the title Shāhi was never borne by him, but only by Kanishka and his successors Although we do not agree with Dikshit regarding the date of the record, Jayaswal's inference that he was Vima Kadphises is equally, unacceptable.

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5. El. XXI pp. 55ff.
6. JRAS. 1924 pp. 402.
7. Jayaswal's views mentioned in JBORS vi pp. 12 ff. have been accepted by J.N. Banerjea—*Development of Hindu Iconography*. p. 41 (1st. ed.).
9. This point has been considered in detail by almost all the scholars. Sahni was the first to draw attention to some peculiarities of the script. 'It must, however', he wrote; be noted that the *m* everywhere shows the advanced form of the Gupta period with a small knob attached to the left of the letter instead of the triangular base. Similarly the *akshara h* assumes the form peculiar to the eastern variety of the Gupta script, in which the horizontal base stroke is completely suppressed, the hook of the *akshara* being turned sharply to the left. The *anusvāra* is throughout represented by a short horizontal stroke instead of the usual dot'. The long medial *ā* is in some cases not distinctly defined. N. G. Majumdar in his comment on this record, remarks that Palaeographically it is impossible to refer this inscription to Kanshika I, that is to say, to the early Kushāṇa period, as its alphabets show predominantly Gupta forms (EI. XXIV, p. 148, n4). Thomas made a detailed study of the palaeography of this record, in his paper on 'Kanishka Year 14' (*India Antiqua —Vogel Volume* pp. 296 ff.). See also our paper on the *Kushāṇaputras* IC VIII, pp. 193 ff)
10. Op. cit. p. 303.
11. EI. XXVI pp. 293 ff. This reading is accepted by Chhabra (ABORI XXXIII (1952) pp. 270 ff. SK Dikshit thinks that this reading is eminently suited for building up the structure of the chronology of the Later Kushāṇas (ABORI—XXXVII p. 98).Earlier he attributes this record to the fourth and not the third century of the Vikrama Samvat, and considers the real date of the record to be 314 VS (ibid p. 97).
12. CII. p. 141.
13. ibid p. 145.
14. Marshall and Foucher. *Sanchi* Vol. I p. 386 No. 829. According to Thomas, the *ma* in this record is similar to the one in Kanishka's inscription of the year 14, with *sa* normal and looped and *ha* absent (Op.cit. p. 297). But Lohizen-de-Leeuw thinks that the *sa* is strongly looped, *ṇa* quite round, and the *na* also has a definitely late form. According to her, all these points show that the fragment has to be dated close to the image of the year 14, i.e. in the beginning of the Post-Kushāṇa period and so we probably have to understand the date as 122 (*The Scythian Period* p. 314). There are certain other Palaeographic peculiarities, as for example in *Ka*, the serif is replaced by a horizontal stroke joining the vertical, the prongs of *ta* are of unusual size—the right being longer than the left; the medial *ā* is represented by a vertical stroke instead of the usual small curve. The record suggests a transitional stage from the Kushāna to the Gupta period.
15. *Op. cit.* I pp. 278, 386. It is suggested by J.N. Banerjea that since this prince does not bear any of the Kushāna titles, e.g. *Devaputra*, and as he is simply styled Rājan he was a local prince of Kushāṇa extraction. The year 22 falls within the reign of Kanishka I, and if the name Vaskushāna be another form of Vāsisaka who succeeded Kanishka, then it is likely that Kanishka was associated with Vāsishka in the last part of his rule in the south-western part of his empire (*Comprehensive History of India* pp. 242-3).
16. *Sāñchī Museum Catalogue* p. 30; No. A82; EI. II p. 39; IX pp. 244-45, ASI. An. Rep. 1910-11 p. 42; Lüders List No. 161.
17. Vogel. *Catalogue Mathura Museum* No. Q 13; ASI. An. Rep. 1910-11 p. 189; Luders List No. 139 a.
18. The language of these records is more Sanskritised and is different from the *Gāthā* dialect of the earlier Kushāṇa records. The Palaeography also suggests certain advanced features. In the Sāñchī record the serif of *ka* is replaced by a stroke and the cross bar by a curve line. In *ja* also the third horizontal line proceeds down and the vertical shows a slight bulge towards the left. Peculiarities are also noticeable in the case of the medial *ra* which has a horizontal stroke joined to the top of the vertical; the right prong of *ta* is bigger than the left, and moves leftwards assuming the shape of a horizontal joined with its end as in the Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta—(See our Paper in IC VIII (2 & 3) pp. 191 ff.
19. As the date and the year of the record follows the name of the ruler, preceded by the title Rājan, either some more titles or some other family details are missing.

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20. Growse "*Mathurā*" Pt. II p. 173 IA. VI p. 217 No. 1; XXXIII. pp. 38 ff; No. 8; Lüder's *List* No. 33, JRAS 1905 p. 358; Vogel; *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. 449.
21. CII. pp. 162 ff; The inscription was also edited by Banerji (IA. *xxxvii*, 1908, pp. 58 ff..; Luders (SBAW, 1912, pp. 824., translated IA. XLII, 1913, pp. 132 ff; cf. JRAS, 1909 p. 652); Sten Konow (SBAW, 1916, pp. 805 ff; EI. XIV pp. 130 ff.). An interpretation was given by Fleet (JRAS. 1913 pp. 97 ff; p. 967) According to Sten Konow, the characters of this record are Kharoshṭhī of the later Kushāṇa period, as for example, *kha* almost identical with the one of Shakardarra, the *jha* of Vājheshka, the shape of *da* and *ba*, the prolongation of the left leg of the square *ya;* the separation of the *i* stroke from the *la* in *li*, 1.6; the circle shape of *r* in *rtha*, and the two forms of *shka* in Vajheshka and Kanishka (op. cit. p. 162).
22. Banerji—op. cit. Vincent Smith suggests that his reign was protracted. Cunningham assigned him a duration of 40 years.
23. CII p. 163.
24. A Maricq—*La grande inscription de Kanishka et l'eté tokharian.* JA 246 pp. 345 ff.
25. *New History of the Indian People* (Henceforth NHIP-p. 12).
26. *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum* (Cat. Pun. Mus.) Nos. 236-237,
27. ibid No. 231-234; 235.
28. NHIP p. 15. According to Vincent Smith, the Indian letters, placed by the side of the spear, are frequently monosyllablic, like Chinese name, *Bha, Ga,* VI, and so forth. These seem to belong to chiefs of various central Asian tribes who invaded and acknowledged the supremacy of the Kushāṇa or Shāhi kings of Kabul (EHI p. 291.)
29. This study is based on Ghirshman's paper *La Probleme de la chronologie des Kouchans* in which he has also collated the archaeological evidence based on the excavations carried on by the French and the Russian Archaeologists in Afghanistan and Central Asia. The references to the papers and Reports are quoted from his Paper (see pp. 708 ff.).
30. The reference to the Nāgas and the Yaudheyas as successors of the Kushānas is based on indigenous evidence. The early Nāgas holding sway over Padmāvatī and Mathura, previously in the possession of the Kushānas, performed ten horse sacrifices. According to the Purāṇas seven kings had already ruled in Mathurā and nine at Padmavatī when the Guptas came to power (Pargiter—*Dynasties of the Kali Age* p. 49); cf Raychaudhuri PHAI—pp. 480 ff.). They must have aggrandised themselves at the expense of the Indian Kushāṇas. The Yaudheyas occupied the territory lying on the banks of the Sutlej as far as the borders of the Bahawalpur State (Johiyabar). A variety of Yaudheya copper coins show clear affinity with the Kushāna coins, and these were probably struck by the Yaudheyas sometime after they had shaken off the Kushāna sway. According to Altekar, the legends *Yaudheyagaṇasya* on their coins, and *Yaudheyānām Jayamantradhāranaṁ* on the clay seals discovered from Sunet, near Ludhiana point to a great victory over the Kushānas. (Proceedings—*All India Oriental Congress* XII. Benares. 1943,, pp.
31. The expansion of the Sassanian empire in the east, did not completely obliterate the Kushānas who acknowledged their supremacy. The Paikuli inscription, appears to refer to several rulers as subordinate allies, if not feudatories of the Kushāṇas. These included the kings of the Surāshtras, Avantis, Śakas and Ābhiras (JRAS, 1933, p. 219). The Sassanian emperor Hormazd II (A.D. 3 or 10) married a daughter of a Kushāna king. On some of his coins he is called *Kushān Malka* (Lord of the Kushānas, and *Kushān Malkān Malka* (Lord of the Kushāṇa rulers). His coins, again, bear the figure of Śiva and his bull as well as the Indian altar (Whitehead *Cat.* p. 213. No. 240).
32. JRAS. 1913 p. 1064; Smith *Catalogue of Coins in the Calcutta Museum* I. pp. 64, 89; Banerji—JASB 1908 p. 91. See also *Comprehensive History of India* (Comp. H.I. p. 252-3).

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CHAPTER V

ADMINISTRATION

Administration plays an important part in the political set up in any country. A good administration serves as a safety valve against external aggression and internal dissention. The administrative process is universal , aiming not only in preserving the *status quo* in society but also in facilitating social changes and cushioning the shock of social revolution. It is difficult to measure the extent to which the Kushāṇa rulers confirmed to an administrative pattern based on above conceptions. It was really a difficient task for them to devise an appropriate system to administer efficiently the vast extent of territory stretching from Balkh, and Khotan to Bihar in the East, and from Kashmir in the north to upper Sindh in the south-west. Extremeties separated by long distances in days of difficult communication necessitated a decentralised scheme of administration with powers distributed among different units forming some sort of hierarchy. This had in no way alienated or even affected the powers of the King—an absolute monarch. The Kushāṇa rulers followed the pattern of the Achaemenian satrapies, although the Saka-Kshatrapas of Western India seem to have enjoyed complete independence, except in the use of the high sounding titles of Mahārāja Rājātirāja. We have, therefore, to assess the position of the Kshatrapas with two standards—one with reference to those of Western India,[1] and secondly in the context of those of Northern and North-Western India—who were only administrative heads with hardly any shadow of independence. To this category belonged Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna, Kshatrapa Vanaspara, Kshātrapa Liaka and a few others whose names are noticed in the Kushāṇa records but never independently. The name of the Kushāṇa ruler figures prominently in these records. The donors knew his name, and the administrative head was associated in these records of donations or dedications for religious or administrative considerations. Unfortunately the evidence from these records is meagre, and can only help in visualising the administrative machinery of which the important links—in the form of some officers with their names and titles-alone are given. The position of these official heads can be viewed with reference to their status in the administrative system of other rulers or dynasties in Indian history. In this connection we might as well consider the data on the subject afforded by the Sanskrit Buddhist literature and Pali works—like *Milindapañha*, more or

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less of a contemporary period, but these can only be for corroboration, rather than be independently tagged on to the Kushāṇa administrative set up.

The Powers and Positions of the King: The Kushāṇa monarchs seemed to possess unfettered powers. There is no reference to an advisory body in the Kushāṇa records, but contemporary Buddhist literature, refers to a council assisting the king of which the members were known as Pārishadyam.[2] Another word *tulaka*[3] is used for a councillor, while in another work the king's councillor Rājāmātya is distinguished from Rājamahatra.[4] In the absence of any reference to the king's councillor in the records of the Kushāṇa period it would be unwise to suggest the existence of such an advisory body and its members assisting the king, in the Kushāṇa administrative machinery. A study of the coin legends, and the records mentioning the titles would give an idea of the Kushāṇa monarch's status. Besides the usual titles—*Mahārāja Rājātirāja* or *Rājādhiraja*[5] for all the monarchs, Wima Kadphises is also called *Sarvalokaīśvara* and *Mahīśvara*[6] (or Māheśvara). The first one would mean the 'lord of all the worlds', while the next one would confine his authority only to the earth. It is, therefore, better to take it as Maheśvara, i.e., a devotee of Śiva, which he was. Besides the Sanskrit titles, the Greek ones *Basileus Basileun*[7] and the Iranian *Shaonano Shao*—corresponding to the later *Shāhanshāh*[8]—suggest that the Kushāṇa monarch was anxious to exhibit his position to all his subjects—Greeks, Indo-Greeks, Iranians and Indians. In inscriptions, the ruler is also called *Devaputra*—suggesting the divine origin of the king, or his being placed on a par with the Chinese Emperor.[9] The use of the title *Kaisara* by king Kanishka of the Ara inscription might be suggestive of the attempt of this ruler, not obviously to challenge the authority of the Roman emperor,[10] but probably to place himself on a footing of equality with him. In other words, the Kushāṇa monarchs seemed to be anxious to assert their position as equals in the eyes of their subjects as well as those of foreign merchants who passed through their empire, to the other monarchs. The legends on the coins, and the titles given in the records point out the status of the monarch without providing any administrative detail.

The Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas: The titles suggesting king of kings, Greek, Iranian and Indian-point to rulers who were acknowledging the suzerainty of the Kushāṇa monarchs. It would be meaningless to call oneself king of kings, without any one accepting his supremacy. This criterion might apply to the Śaka Kshatrapas of Western India who are mentioned as *Rājan Kshatrapa*, or the higher appellation Rājan Mahākshatrapa with powers to issue

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their coins. The assumption of the title points to its conferment by some overlord. The term Kshatrapa in Sanskrit literature[11] is used in the sense of dominion, rule and power, as exercised by gods and men. It is used in the sense of ruler in the *Rigveda.*[12] *Kshatra* was the military or the reigning body, the members of which were generally called *Rājanya,* not Kshatriya in earlier times. Later on, it was applied to the second military class which ruled. According to the *Brāhmaṇas,*[13] *Kshatra* indicated the rank or member of the reigning or military order. The term *Kshatrapa,* therefore, points to ruler with a dominion, however small it might be. Historically. we know of Darius I dividing his empire into a number of satrapies,[14] followed by Alexander[15]. Even before the Kushāṇas, we hear of Kshatrapas of Kāpiśa and Abhisāra Prastha[17], and of Mathurā.[71] The Kushāṇa rulers followed the system of their predecessors. Kanishka's Kshatrapas enjoyed a position different from that of the western Kshatrapas.

The inscriptions of Kanishka have reference to several Kshatrapas. The Sarnath records[18] dated in the year 3 of Mahārāja Kanishka are very important in this respect. The first record inscribed on the Bodhisattva statue—associates the Kshatrapa Vanaspara and Kharapallāna in the pious act of dedication of the statue by Friar Bala. The two short epigraphs on the same statue add some more details. The one referring to the image of the Bodhisattva, describes Kharapallāna as Mahākshatrapa, while the other short epigraph referring to the image along with the umbrella and the post one only mentions the date and the name of the ruler. In another record of dedication by the same donor at Sravasti,[19] there is no reference to the Kshatrapas but the king's name—either Kanishka or Huvishka—the first two letters being mutilated, figures prominently. If these Kshatrapas were enjoying any status of independence, or even a shadow of it, their names would never have been ignored in the other record. Secondly, the reference to Kharapallāna as a Mahākshatrapa is equally interesting and important for two reasons: the promotion from a slight lower to a definitely higher status in administration, and the necessity of two Kshatrapas at one place. To obviate the difficulty it can be suggested that Vanaspara was the actual Kshatrapa at Vārāṇasī. as his name comes first in the main record and Kharapallāna is not given any title. The scribe's error seems to have been subsequently corrected with the visit of Kharapallāna who was a Mahākshatrapa, possibly with his headquarters at Mathurā. We, therefore, presume that there were atleast two administrative units —the main one at Mathurā which was also the regal seat, and. secondly, the other one for the eastern portion of the Kushāṇa

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empire, probably at Vārāṇasi.[20] An undated Kushāṇa record from Anyor (Mathura)[21] mentions another Kshatrapa Upāśika Namida.

The information relating to the Kshatrapas in the north-west is a little more in detail. Taxila was definitely an administrative seat. In the time of Maues, we find reference to Kshaharāta[22] Kshatrapa of Chuksha Liaka Kusuluka whose son Patika established relics of the Lord Śākyamuni and a Sanghārāma through Rohinīmitra—a *navakarmika* (architect). During the reign of Jihoṇika (Zeionises), the Kshatrapa of Chuksha, son of Maṇigula,[23] brother of the king, a silver vase of duckshape was donated. Chuksa thus continued to be an administrative unit entrusted to the nephew of this ruler. Among the Kharoshṭhī records of the time of Kanishka, the Manikiala stone inscription[24] of the year 18, refers to the Kshatrapa Veśapasi, and Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa race. The Bronze casket inscription[25] from the same place records the gift of the Kāpiśa Kshatrapa, the son of the Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka. The Zeda inscription[26] of the year 11, records, a gift of Hipea Dhia, in honour of the Kshatrapa Liaka. Zeda is a village near Und. The location of these administrative units on the basis of the reference in the Kushāṇa records and their find spots might be as follows: Kāpiśa, identified with modern Begram was under a Kshatrapa[27] whose name is not mentioned but he was the son of the Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka. Veśapasi, the Kshatrapa mentioned in the Manikiala stone inscription, might have been stationed there in the Rawalpindi district, where ancient buildings, monasteries, and isolated massive stone walls were excavated in 1830, or he might have come from Taxila which was an administrative unit under a Kshatrapa as noticed earlier. Similarly the headquarters of the Kshatrapa Liaka were either at the place of the find-spot of the record near Und, slightly to the west of the Indus; or he might have been some relation of Patika, son of Liaka Kusulaka of the Taxila record of the year 78 of the old era. In that case he has also to be placed in Taxila. Though it is difficult to locate the headquarters of the Kshatrapas it seems certain that there was one at Kāpiśa in Afghanistan where the hostages were kept by Kanishka,[28] and secondly at Taxila which was an important seat. There might have been two more Kshatrapas—one for Kashmir,[29] and the other for the south-western portion of the empire, but the evidence is wanting. It appears from these records that the Kshatrapas were mostly foreigners, as their names suggest; and sometimes hereditary appointments were made as for example, the Kāpiśa Kshatrapa was the son of Kshatrapa Graṇavhryaka. Such hereditary appointments are also noticed in other administrative units as well.

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Daṇḍanāyaka and Mahādaṇḍanāyaka: The term *Daṇḍanāyaka* and the higher one *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* seemed to have formed a link in the Kushāṇa administrative machinery. Their exact status, in the light of later evidence has to be determined. These terms occur for the first time in the Kushāṇa records.[30] The Māt. inscription[31] of the time of Huvishka mentions a Bakanapati whose father was a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka.* Another inscription[32] dated in the year 74 of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsudeva mentions a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Valina. The Manikiala inscription[33] mentions Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa race as a Daṇḍanayago corresponding to the Sanskrit Daṇḍanāyaka. It is natural to presume the two grades of *daṇḍanāyakas,* like the Kshatrapas in the Kushāṇa administrative system. The higher term indicated a superior status. Fortunately these two terms are noticed in dozens of epigraphic records from the Allahabad pillar to the Nāgārjunikuṇḍ inscriptions —in Sanskrit and Kanarese—and from the Senas of Bengal to the Chālukyas of Gujarat. The term *daṇḍanāyaka* also occurs in literature, and it has been translated by scholars with different and sometimes with conflicting meanings.[34] As this title is associated with several other ones, it should not be very difficult to estimate the exact position of a *daṇḍanāyaka.* It has been translated as a magistrate,[35] and in another inscription by the same scholar as 'the leader of the four forces of the army,[36] 'as a 'fortunate[37] general' and as 'Commander of forces.'[38] In lexicons, its recorded meaning is 'a rod-applier'[39] or 'a Judge.' Prinsep[40] editing the Allahabad pillar inscription translated the word as 'administrator of punishment' (Magistrate) and 'Criminal Magistrate,' and Fleet took it in the sense of 'the great leader of the forces.'[41] Aurel Stein translated it 'as the perfect of police'[42] and Ranjit Pandit as 'Commissioner of Police.'[43] Military, Judicial and Police functions are given to this officer in terms of the interpretations of various scholars.

As 'the Commander of the forces', or 'the fortunate general', he should have exercised unfettered authority over the armed forces, but we find that he is distinguished from the *Senāni* or General.[44] As a Police Officer,' or a 'Judicial Magistrate', he had nothing to do with forces, which was not a fact. He is also distinguished from a *daṇḍapāśika.*[45] He was neither a Civil Officer in the true sense of the terms, nor were his activities confined to the battle field as Commander of the forces. Moreover we also find a still higher appellation *Mahāprachaṁḍa Daṇḍanāyaka,*[46] and the same officer is also given other titles suggesting other functions. Thus Hariśeṇa of the Allahabad record besides being a Mahādaṇḍanāyaka, which title or position he acquired from his father—Mahādaṇḍanāyaka Dhruvabhatta, he was also a *Kumārāmātya* and a

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Sāndhivigrahika. In another record,[47] he also holds the titles—*Mahāsāmanta* and *Mahāprātihāra*, while in the Nāgārjunī Kund inscription,[48] he is also called a *Mahāsāmantādhipati* and *Mahātalavari*[49] who had married in the royal household. The *Daṇḍanāyaka* is also considered a feudatory, authorised to keep a certain amount of royal levy,[49] and administering 71 villages.[50] There are references to promotions given to *Daṇḍanāyakas*—as minister[51] or as Sāndhivigrahika.[52]

We may therefore suggest that *daṇḍanāyakas* were feudatory chiefs, appointed by the king and holding allegiance to him, who were required to render civil and military aid. The civil aid was in the form of personal service, as administrator judge, for maintaining law and order, or in external relations as minister in charge of peace and war. The Kushāṇas were the first to introduce this system, and it was followed by the Gupta rulers and others in different parts of India. The *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* of the Kushāṇa record of the time of Huvishka, was the son of a Bakanapati, while Lala of the Mānikiala record was a scion of the Kushāṇa family. So this feudal set up in the administrative machinery was worked out on a limited scale. What we notice in the case of the Kshatrapas and the Mahākshatrapas, the same principle seems to have been applied in the matter of appointment of these feudal lords—who acquired the position by inheritance or on other grounds. The names of all the Kshatrapas, Mahākshatrapas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas appear to be foreign, and that explains the absence of Indian official heads at the higher level, but the village heads were local people.

Grāmika and Padrapāla: The administration at the lower level seems to have been left in its older form. The two terms probably synonymous, are noticed in the records of this period. A record from Mathurā[53] mentions dedication by the wife of the village headman Jayanāga, the *grāmika* whose father Jayadeva also enjoyed the same status. *Padrapāla*, the other term referring to the local head is noticed in another record[54]. The term *grāmika* is also noticed in the Damodarpur copper plate inscription,[55] and is taken in the sense of the head of a village. Acording to Manu,[56] this headman enjoyed several privileges—as for example, he could use the king's dues and could refer cases of criminal offences to the head of ten villages. This term is synonymous with the *grāmaṇi* of the Vedic literature,[57] and *grāmkuṭṭaka* in a later record where the latter is distinguished with *grāmapati*—probably the landlord of the village. There is hardly any information regarding his functions and remuneration etc. in the Kushāṇa record. The Office appeared to be hereditary as suggested by the record.

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ADMINISTRATION

The meagre information available from the Kushāṇa records is suggestive of some sort of feudal heirarchy in Kushāṇa administration. We are not supplied with details or at least with the names of offices, although some information is available from the Buddhist literature of this period[58]. It would, however, be difficult to use it independently with reference to the Kushāṇa administrative set up. It is rather starnge that out of more than half a dozen records mentioning the names of Kshatrapas and Mahādaṇḍanāyakas—the administrative heads of provinces and the feudal lords—not one appears to be Indian by name, although the Kushāṇa monarchs themselves were slowly paving the ground for their complete Indianisation. It is quite likely that the administration and the policy in general might have been framed with different standards. The local administrative units were unaffected. Despite the paucity of details the administration seemed to have ensured safety, as we find references to people coming to Mathurā from Abhisāra, Nagara Oḍayana and even Wokhana or Badakshan. Whatever might have been the detailed set up, safety and security were responsible for progress and prosperity which would be evident from the life of the people in general, and a large number of donations and dedications for all religions.

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1. The position of the Saka Kshatrapas of Western India, and their relations with the Kushāṇa ruler—especially Wima Kadphises have been considered in detail earlier in the Chapter on Political history of the Kadphises kings. They were probably the feudatories of the Kushāna emperor. The assumption of the higher title—*Mahā Kshatrapa* by Nahapāna in the year 46, and the reference to Rudradāman obtaining the title by his own power (*Svayam adhigatā mahākshatrapa nāmnā)* poses the question—acquired from whom? The reference to Bhaṭṭāraka in the record of Nahapāna is equally interesting. The status of these Kshatrapas was much more than of a provincial head. They were more of independent rulers with power to issue coins. The absence of the title Mahārāja in their records or coins is suggestive of their status.
2. *Divyāadāna*—henceforth *Div* p. 359.
3. ibid p. 291.
4. *Sadharampuṇḍarīka*—henceforth *Sadh pun*-xiii p. 288.
5. The Taxila record of 136 (CII pp. 70 ff.) is the earliest one referring to the Kushāṇa monarch with the high sounding titles of *Mahārājā Rājātirāja Devaputra.* In view of the record being dated in three digits it is ascribed to the time of Wima Kadphises. Records mentioning Kanishka with these appellations are Sui Vihar (CII pp. 138 ff.); the Mathurā Jain inscription of the year 7 (E.I. I p. 381 No. 19) adding the title *Shāhi* as well ; those of Huvishka are the Chharagon Naga image inscription of the year 40 (Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. C13), the Mathura Buddhist Pillar Inscription of the year 47 (IA. III p. 101), the Mathurā Image inscription of the year 60 (or 40) —EI. I p. 386 No. 8; the Mat inscription (JRAS. 1924 pp. 397. No. 3); the title Shāhi is also mentioned in the Mathurā Brāhmī inscription of the year 28, mentioning only Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka (EI. XXI pp. 55 ff.). Those of Vāsudeva are the Mathurā Stone Slab of the year 74 (EI. I. p. 373 No. 7); the Jain record of the 84 also adding the title Shāhi (Vogel *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. B4), that of the year 87 with the title *Shāhi* but not Devaputra (IA. XXXIII. p. 108 No. 22). Vāsiska is also given the full regal form—*Mahārājātirāja Devaputra* in the Mathura Yupa inscription (Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. Q13), and the title *Shāhi* is also added in the Sanchi record (EI. II p. 39). The fuller title is also accorded to the Kushāṇaputra mentioned in the Mathura record (ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12

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p 124), while Kanishka of the Mathura record of the year 14, bears the titles *Mahārāja Devaputra.* Kanishka of the Ara inscription (EI. IX p. 96) has the additional title Kaisara (CII p. 162 ff).

6. Whitehead: Cat. p. 183.
7. ibid p. 184.
8. ibid pp. 187, 194.
9. According to F.W. Thomes, Devaputra was not an official title of the Kushāṇa rulers but a complimentary epithet given to them by their subjects, (*B.C. Law Volume.* II pp. 97 ff.), a view accepted by Ghoshal (Sharma-*Aspects* of Political *Ideas and Institutions in Ancient India* p. 175) R.S. Sharma takes it to be an official title adopted by the Kushāṇas (ibid p. 177).
10. Prof. R.S. Sharma thinks that it was obviously used to challenge Roman power (Op. cit. p. 168). According to Sten Konow, *Kaisara* cannot be anything else than the imperial Roman title Caesar, and it presupposes that the inscription was executed at a time when the Roman empire was known in India as a powerful state (JBBRAS. Vol. I New Series p. 2).
11. *Monier Williams Dictionary* p. 325.
12. V.66. 26.
13. *Aitareya* VII. 5; *Śatapatha* XVII. 52.
14. In addition to the evidence of inscriptions, the fact that a portion of Northern India was incorporated into the Achaemenian empire under Darius is further attested by the witness of Herodotus, who, in giving a list of the twenty satraps or governments that Darius established, expressly states that the Indian realm was the twentieth division (Historica III. 94-CHI p. 300).
15. Alexander had divided the Punjab and Sind into three divisions. The first was the satrapy of Philip, the son of Machatas, but it is difficult to make out its confines, possibly round Taxila. The second was the satrapy of Pithon, covering Sind from the Indus confluence to the ocean. The third of the Paurava prince extended from the Hydaspes (Jhelum) to the Hyphasis (Beas). A fourth Satrapy lay outside India. A fifth with a looser connection was that of Abhisāra (CHI p. 383).
16. CII pp. 150, 130.
17. Śoḍāsa & Rañjubula-CII p. cii. For a reference to the names and coins of the Mathurā Kshatrapas-see Cunningham. *Coins of Ancient India* CAI. pp. 85-7), *Smith Catalogue of Coins in the Indian Museum* (CCIM I) pp. 190-1; Allan: *Catalogue of Coins in the British Museum* (CCBM), pp. cxi-vi.
18. EI. VIII, p. 196 ff.; Nos. IIIa, III6, IIId.
19. EI. VIII, p. 180.
20. RS Sharma presumes that the Kushāṇas seem to have introduced the dual governorship in a province so that one could act as a check on the power of the other (*Op. cit.*, p. 168).
21. Vogel: *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. A66.
22. CII, p. 28—*Chukhsasa Kshatrapasa* is also used in another Taxila inscription of the year 191, and there it can hardly be anything else than the name of the locality over which the Kshatrapa held sway. Bühler identified Chukhsa with Sanskrit *Choska,* which according to *Trikāṇḍaśesha* means 'a horse from the districts on the Indus'. It might denote some particular district on the Indus. Stein identified it with the present Chach or Chachh, an alluvial plain to the north of the district and Tahsil of Attock (CII. p. 25).
23. CII., p. 82.
24. ibid, p. 149.
25. ibid, p. 150.
26. ibid, p. 145.
27. Ghirshman suggests that Begram-Kāpiśa was the capital of the Kushāṇa State (*op. cit.*, p. 689). One may not agree with him on this point. Mathurā certainly had a better claim because of its central situation. Begram might have been a provincial seat.
28. Beal: *Buddhist Records* I, p. 57.
29. According to Vincent Smith, Jushka mentioned in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* (BK. I. vv. 168-71) may have been merely a Viceroy in Kashmir. Coins of Kanishka and Huvishka are abundant in that country (EHI. p. 276).
30. Proc. IHC. 1958, p. 68.
31. JRAS. 1924, p. 402.
32. ASR. III, p. 32, No. 8.
33. CII., p. 145.

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34. Proc. IHC. Aligarh, p. 90 cf. Ghoshal—*Indian Histriography and other Essays*, pp. 177-9: He concludes that the term *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* means 'Commander-in-chief'.
35. EI. XII, p. 371.
36. ibid., p. 13.
37. ibid., p. 268.
38. EI. VI, p. 92.
39. Monier Williams: *Dictionary*, p. 966.
40. *Essays* I—p. 23.
41. CII. III., p. 16.
42. *Rājataraṅginī*—Translation I. viii, 975, p. 344.
43. *Rivers of Kings*, p. 288.
44. EI. XV, p. 283.
45. EI. XV.
46. EI. XV, p. 87; XIX., p. 88.
47. IA. IV, p. 108.
48. EI. XX., p. 18.
49. IA. IV., p. 105 ff; EI. IV., p. 260.
50. EI. XV., p. 93.
51. EI. XIII, p. 36.
52. ibid.
53. EI. I., p. 387, No. 11.
54. JUPHS. 1939, p. 22, No. xxii.
55. EI. XV, p. 114, No. 3.
56. VII. 118.
57. *Grāmaṇi* or 'Leader of the village' is referred to in the *Rigveda* (X. 62, 11, 107.5); in the *Atharvaveda* III. 5, 7; XIX. 31, 12, and often in the later *Saṁhitas* and in the *Brāhmaṇas, Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, (ii, 5, 4, 4); *Maitrāyaṇī Saṁhitā* i. 6.5. Ac- according to Macdonell and Keith, presumably the *Grāmaṇi* was the head of the village both for civil purposes and for military operations (*Vedic Index* Vol. I. p. 247). The local heads were known as *Grāmaṇi* (Luders List No. 1333), *Grāmika* (ibid., 48, 699), *Grāmabhojaka* (ibid. 1200). There is also a reference to *Grāmasvāmī* (lord of the village) of a Kshatrapa in a late Kharoshṭhi inscription in the Peshawar area (EI. XXIV, p. 10).
58. The administrative data from the Sanskrit Buddhist literature I-III century A.D. is considered in a Paper read by the author and published in the *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*—Bombay session, pp. 146-151 (1947).

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CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL LIFE

Social life in northern India under the Kushāṇas was richer in contents and comprehensive in outlook, and range of activities. This is evident from the sculptures, especially from Mathurā suggesting the vivacious side of life full of bustle and activity. Evidence relating to singing, dancing, music and other items of entertainment like dramatic performances and magical shows—providing amusement to many—is afforded by the literature of this period. Inscriptions, recording donations or dedications by pious people for their respective religious orders, enjoin the sharing of merit by all the members of the family. Division into broader groups was based on fundamental differences in disposition for greater and closer contacts amongst their members. But the sphere of social intercourse was not limited, nor was the hereditary function of any group or, in a broader sense, of castecism in general, tended towards strict rigidity. The broader view of life aimed at a harmonious balancing of *dharma, artha and kāma*—spirituality, economic pursuit, and marital happiness—all leading to the *summum bonum-moksha*—the deliverance from this mundane existence. The religious texts of this period have much to offer on the secular aspects, and the Kushāṇa art is also not devoid of social facets of human life in its lighter vein, and marked with a sense of humour. The influx of the foreigners—Greeks, Parthians, Śakas and lastly the Kushāṇas—could not alter the basic structure of Indian society which retained its vitality, and provided room for the assimilation of these foreigners in it. The different aspects of social life provide an interesting study.

Social Divisions:—The Sanskrit Buddhist literature and the data from the *Milindapañha* throw some light or the social divisions in the period following the Christian era. Division of society was based not on wealth or profession, but on birth. One inscription from Mathurā[1] records dedication by the daughter-in-law of an iron monger (*lohavaṇiya*), herself the daughter of a jeweller (*maṇikāra*). This is not an evidence of inter-caste marriage, but of one in the same caste between members following different professions and of varying status. Thus, a Brahmin finding his son deficient in learning had to console himself that after all not all brahmins were accomplished in the Vedas *(na sarve brāhmaṇā vedaparāgā bhavanti)*, but he still continued to be brahmin by birth *(jāti brāhmaṇa)*.[2] The *Mahāvastu* refers[3] to extremely wealthy brahmins, with their trea-

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suries and granaries completely filled. The four-fold division of the Hindu society into Brāhmanas, Kshatriya, Vaiśyas and Śūdras is mentioned in the *Milindapañha*,[4] and their usual functions are also noticed. In the *Lalitavistara* there is a reference to caste unification *(sarvair ekajāti prati-baddhai)*,[5] probably in an academic sense rather than in an attempt to integrate the different social units. The Brahmanical hierarchy was a living force, and the members of this class continued to enjoy special position. In a Mathurā Brāhmi inscription[6] of the time of Huvishka, the foreigner Bakanapati and Kharasalerapati made special provision for the feeding of a hundred Brahmins in the open hall, out of the interest from the perpetual endowment made with the two guilds. This was in confirmity with the existing social phenomenon of giving gifts and donations in cash and kind to the Brahmins[7]. The making of gifts to gods and Brahmins was a symbol of accepting Brahmanism. The inscriptions are silent on the dedication or donation given by a Śūdra, but we have references to an outcaste *(vaivarṇika)*[8] and also to a man of low caste (mātanga)[9], and slaves in different circumstances. The reference to Agiśala navakarmika in the Taxila casket inscription[10] as *dāsa* is more out of humility and devotion, rather than a vindication of his position in the social order. Moreover he was a Buddhist.

Family life:—Family constituted the smaller unit in the social organisation, of which the members were more group minded than individualistic. The records of dedications enjoin benefit for the whole *(sarvasatvānām hitasukhāya)* and not for the individual donor. Some sort of family protocol was also observed in these records. If the lady was the donor, it was her father-in-law's name which came first, followed by that of her father, then husband and finally her sons[11]. In case the head of the family was dead, then the father's name followed that of her husband, as for example, in the record of Siṁhadattā,[12] wife of the village headman (*grāmika*) Jayanāga, that of his father *grāmika* Jayadeva followes his, and then comes that of her father. The grand-children also figured in where the donor was sufficiently old, as for instance, in the record of gift of Vijayśri[13] daughter of Bubu, wife of Rājavasu, mother of Devila, and paternal grand mother of Vishṇubhava. The father-in-law must have been dead at that time, and that probably accounts for the absence of his name. Occasionally the chief merit was assigned to a certain member of the family, as for example, mother[14], brother[15], father, wife and son[16]. The joint family consisted of father, mother, grandfather *(pitāmaha)*, son, daughter-in-law *(vadhu)* and even the paternal grandmother *(pita-mahika-pitāmahī)*[17] Aśvaghosha also mentions the young half-brother (*bhrātarya*)[18] as a member of the joint family. An inscription also refers to sister's daughter's

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daughter *(sushoti)*[19]. The father-in-law was not supposed to come into the joint family. In a donatory record[20] of a lady, the members of her mother and father *(mātā-pitā)* precede those of her father-in-law *(svaśura)* and mother-in-law *(svasā)*. It is likely that this lady retained her paternal family lineage, like Prabhavatī Guptā, daughter of Chandra Gupta II who had married a Vākāṭaka prince.

The literature of this period also adduces some interesting material on this topic. A high and prosperous *(jāti-sampanna)*,[21] is distinguished from a low *(hīnakula)*,[22] while the *Mahāparivāra*[23] denoted a large family. The head of the family was the *grihapati*[24] and his mistress is given several names in inscriptions[25]—*bhāryā*, *kuṭumbinī*, *dharampatnī* and *sahacharī*. The first three may be taken as synonymous, while the last one might signify a consort or a female companion. The head of the family exercised authority over other members and his permission was sought on all occasions. The father passed on his wealth and revenues *(upabhaoga)* to his sons through will in the presence of a big gathering[26]. The same work also refers to a young boy running away from home and facing misery.

Several types of attendants catered for the comforts of the master and the mistress of the household. A domestic servant was called *karmakāra*, while a hired labourer was known as *paurusheya*.[27] Other terms mentioned are *purojava*[28]—a personnel attendant, *vāhika*[29]—a carrier servant, and *javanapurusha*[30]—carrier, and the maid servant in waiting (*antara-grihadāsī*).[31] These maid servants attended on the ladies preparing cosmetics (*vilepana*), arranging for the toilet *(snāna vidhim-ayojayat)* and weaving sweet-smelling garlands (*jagranthur-anyāḥ surabhīstraś-cha*).[32] The *Divyāvadāna*[33] refers to many types of nurses (*dhātrī*) for specific purposes of looking after the baby. It is difficult to suggest on the basis of the above evidence if the people in general could afford to keep servants and maid servants maintaining a high standard of living. The records of donations and dedications by the people in general, mostly belonging to the middle class, and the ladies in particular, suggest that the people were in fairly prosperous circumstances, and the ladies also enjoyed considerable freedom. The use of veil, as appears in the Bhārhut sculptures[34] is not noticed in the sculptures of this period, but the ladies were conscious of the sense of decorum. Aśvaghosha refers to brides narrowing down their eyes in shame (*hīna kuñchita chakshushām*),[35] and the *Lalitavistara* too prescribes the same rule of conduct for brides.[36] The ladies were provided with separate apartment (*antaḥpura*)[37] in the house.

Marriage:—Generally marriage took place between members of the same caste. The reference to different types of ladies, mentioned

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above, led Bühler to presume[38] that *dharmapatnī* was the legally wedded first wife, *kutumbinī* was the house wife, and *bhāryā* a wife only. He left the term *sahacharī* untranslated. Unfortunately, not one record associates any two types of women mentioned above. That suggests that the above terms were synonymous. There was of course no ban on a person marrying again in the life time of the first wife or after her death for begetting a son, as enjoined in the *Smritis*. In the literature of this period, there are certain pieces of information. In the *Lalitavistara* there is reference to considerations of virtues in a prospective bride *(yasyā ete guṇāḥ saṁvidyante)*,[39] but the same work also points to the custom of giving daughter in marriage to one proficient in arts.[40] There used to be tests for ascertaining proficiency in the use of sword (*asi*), bow (*dhanus*), and even in wrestling (*yuddha-sālambha vidhijñaḥ*). These tests are referred to in connection with prince Siddhārtha's marriage and the wrestling scenes also figure prominently in Gandhāra art. These might have been in practice to some extent and in a limited circle in that period. The *Mahāvastu*[41] refers to a blacksmith's son producing a very fine needle before claiming the hand of another man's daughter of the same caste. Marriage by purchase was also known. In the *Milindapañha*[42] there is a reference to choosing a girl and paying the price for her, called *śuṅka* in the *Jātakas*[43] corresponding to the Sanskrit *Śulka*. Aśvaghosha also refers to it in his *Buddhacharita*.[44]

Dress and Ornaments:—The outward appearance of the people in general is indicative of their taste, status and prosperity. The evidence on this aspect of social life is copious-available from sculptures and literature. There was no uniformity, and the dress varied with region and people. In the Gandhāra region[45] the ordinary dress of the people consisted of a loin cloth (*dhotī*) tied with a girdle at the waist and reaching to the anklets and a scarf and turban (*mauli*), while women put on a skirt (*lahṅgā*) and bodice (*stanāṁśuka*), and sometimes a *sārī*. Some wore the scarf draped over both shoulders with a loose inflated length behind the head and shoulders and the ends hanging down evenly on each side. We also find a short *chiton* or tunic caught in the round and provided with scalloped turn over edge at the top.[46] The secular scenes in the Gandhāra art provide an interesting study of the social life. In a family drinking scene[47] (now in the Musée Guimet, Paris) the two men are dressed differently. The older man wears *himation* only, falling from the left shoulder and leaving the body bare, while the younger one has a shirt, sleeved tunic tied with a girdle round the hips. The dress of women consists of a long sleeved *chiton* reaching from the neck to the feet, and over it a *himation* draped from the left shoulder

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and across the legs. In another scene women wear a long double tunic instead of a tunic and *himation*.[48]

In Mathurā, too, different types of dresses are represented in sculptures. In one sculpture from Sārnāth[49] the devotees are clad in long tunics with a belt above the hips. In a Bacchanalian group[50] at Mathurā a women is clad in a long sleeved jacket and a skirt reaching her feet. She puts on plump shoes with heavy ornaments on her body. On the other side of the group a woman is dressed in Greek costume with a man on her left wearing a mantle fastened to the neck and hanging down from the shoulders in folds, which are suggestive, as Vogel points out, of late Greek designs. In another piece[51], bearing an inscription of the time of Huvishka, the female figure has a short petticoat and a loose garment hanging down her left arm. The famous sculpture from the British Museum[52] shows a man and a woman sitting on a bench; the woman on the left wears a loin-cloth, and a girdle and the usual ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the anklets and ears. The male facing the lady wears a necklace, bracelets, eardrops and the *dhotī* covering the knees. It was the usual dress of the people, with a scarf tied round the loins, the shawl covering the body or even without it, and the usual head dress. The dress of the foreigners is also depicted. In a sculpture from Sāñchī[53], described by Marshall, the donors—men, women and children—all wear the peculiar barbarian dress, apparently consisting of boots, breeches, and belted cassocks for men, and the characteristic jackets of the women hardly leaving any doubt regarding their foreign origin.

The headless statue of Kanishka in the Mathurā Museum[54] is also suggestive of the dress of foreigners. The Emperor is shown dressed in a Toga (like the *aṅgarkhā* of the Muslim times) reaching down the knees, and held round the loins by a girdle. The long heavy boots with straps round the ankles are very conspicious. On the coins,[55] he is depicted wearing a long heavy coat and close fitting trousers and peaked helmet. The dress is the same. The Kushāṇaputra is dressed[56] in a long sleeved tunic with richly embroidered border. The tunic is dotted all over with little rosettees. He also puts on heavy boots.

The contemporary literature also provides some interesting details. Aśvaghosha refers to people adorning themselves with clothing and ornaments (*Vasanaiś-ch-ābharaṇaiṛ*)[57]. The shawl was meant for covering both the shoulders (*Paṭāvritāṁso vinatāradha-kāya*).[58] The head dress was called *mauli*. The poet also refers to dress suited for merry making (*Veshaṁ madanānurūrpaṁ*)[59] distinguished from that of mournful colour (*virakta Vāsān*)[60]. Ac-

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cording to the *Divyāvadāna*,[61] the dress consisted of two pieces (*yamalī*), an another kind of garment known as *tuṇḍichela*.[62] The *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka* refers to petticoat (*śāṭī*) and other items for covering (*prāvāra*)[63], along with soft, clean and gorgeous costumes. The high quality of cloth stuff, like the fine cotton silk from Kāśī (*Kāsīkāvastra*), probably meant for the artistocratic class and the rich people, is noticed in the *Lalitavistara*[64]. The same work also refers to the use of ordinary cotton (*tūlapānsi*)[65] for making summer clothes, and blankets (*kambala*)[66] also mentioned in the *Milindapañha*.[67] The clothes were also perfumed[68] (*avāsayan*). There is reference to dyers known as *rajaka* in an inscription and in literature.[69]

The best evidence relating the use of ornaments by members of both the sexes, is afforded by the sculptures of this period both from Gandhāra and Mathurā. In Gandhāra sculptures, men wear a necklace and a single bangle on each wrist, while women have a similar kind of necklace but several bangles on their wrist as well as heavy anklets on their ankles.[70] The large circular ear-ornaments and flat collarette are also noticed along with flexible necklace and bangle.[71] In Mathurā sculptures, too, the usual ornaments for the men are necklace, bracelets and eardrops, while women have the ornaments round the neck, the wrists, the anklets and eardrops.[72] The *Lalitavistara*[73] and the *Saundarananda*[74] of Aśvaghosha refer to anklets (*nūpura*), earrings (*kuṇḍala*) and pearl necklace (*hāra*), but the *Sukhāvativyūha*[75] gives a very comprehensive list of ornaments covering the whole body which is not warranted by the sculptural piece of evidence. The absence of the *latikās* or forehead pieces and *patrapāsya*—the fastened leaf of the Bhārhut sculptures[76] suggest a tendency towards simplicity and refined taste, rather than for over ornamentation. As we are only noticing the life of the people in general, we are not referring to the particular dress of warriors and saints.[71]

It would appear from this short study based on sculptures and literature that dress varied with people from different regions, and according to their status from the soft coloured rugs (*mridavastra*) thin texture of blue colour (*slakshaṇa sulīḍha*) to fine cotton-silk from Kāśī (*kāsikavastra*) and the plain cotton (*tuṇḍapāsi*). Ornaments, although few in number as compared to those of the Bhārhut sculptures, reflect the refined tendency of the people in general, without undermining the importance of grace and attraction. This would also be evident from the use of cosmetics, perfumes and arrangement of hair in different ways.

Toilet and treatment of hair:—The State Museum at Lucknow, and the Mathurā Museum[78], have two door jambs containing a num-

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ber of cut-panels. The former depicts scenes ranging from the bath to the completion of the toilet. In the first scene a lady is shown with her husband handing over her garment. In the next scene, he plaits her hair in braids, and in the third one she is giving the mirror to him to hold it up while she applies the cosmetics to her face. It appears that possibly the sculptor had his inspiration from the *Saundarananda* of Aśvaghosha, where Sundarī puts her mirror into her lover's hand saying, 'Just hold this up in front of me while I paint'[79], and he held it up. In the Mathurā Museum also there are scenes of similar theme enclosed with in sunk-panels. In the same work of Aśvaghosha, there is a reference to preparations for toilet and bath. Ladies in waiting were required to pound ointment, perfume clothes and weave sweet-smelling garlands for the mistress and her lord.[80] After the usual bath, some ladies put on special dress of thin texture and blue colour (*slakshana sulīḍa*)[81]. The articles of cosmetics included salve (*vilepana*), paint (*viśeshaka*)[82] and ointment (*añjana*). The painting was done through a small paper stick (*pattrāṅguli*)[83]. Chandana paste was also rubbed over the body by the lady herself[84].

The treatment of hair according to the *Milindapañha*[85] included first shampooing (*dhovana*) followed by the typing of ribbons (*bandhana*), combing (*kocca*) and then the hair dressing (*kappaka*). This was done before a pure mirror (*ādarśa maṇḍala*)[86]. Numerous types of hair dressing are noticed in the sculptures and terracottas of this period. Although the arrangement is not so diversified as in the Gupta period, many types had their beginnings in earlier times. The parting line (*sīmanta*) is not clearly brought out in the Gupta period, but more specimens of the Pre-Gupta or Kushāṇa period show the upper line. It might be a short one on the forehead[87], a circle drawn on the forepart of the hair[88]—sometimes parted from the middle with horizontal lines running on either side. The rest of the hair is plaited in braids (*dviveṇī*)[89] and thrown at the back[90] or bound in a straight knot at the back[91]. In another type the hair is arranged in a horizontal ridge on the crown of the head from which tassels fall at the back. A number of terracottas found at Ghosi and Kosam and at many other places bear this out in the crude workmanship of the Kushāṇa period. In the third type[93] hair is arranged on the head in a form giving an impression of the feathers of a peacock. This style is very picturesque and most peculiar to the Kushāṇa period.

The arrangement in Gandhāra art is also varied and suggests different tastes of the people. It is in unconfined locks[94], long and braided[95], with tuft at the back[96] dressed as a top knot[97]. The wiglike treatment is also noticed in Gandhāra sculptures. Unfortunately it is difficult to assign any particular design or type to the

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Kushāṇa period for want of date on these sculptures. Moustache in-full, and beard also figures in Gandhāra[99] sculptures. The *Divyāvadāna*[100] refers to the dressing (*prasādhyati*) of the hair and the beard (*keśamaśru*).

Pastime and Recreations:—The people in that period were not oblivious of the necessity of pastime and recreations. Numerous items catered for the entertainment of the people according to their taste and circumstances. In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*[101] there are references to neat and lovely gardens serving as places of recreations. Such places were also called *krīḍāsthāna*. The *Divyāvadāna*[102] also mentions lovely spots for walking (*chamakrama*). The divisions varied according to the age as well. Small children were happy in playing on sand (*siktā*)[103] with their toys (*kriḍānkaṁ*), while juveniles enjoyed games and excercises, like leaping (*laṅghana*), jumping (*plavana*)[104], wrestling grounds (*raṅgamaṇḍala*)[105], and gymnasiums (*vyāyāmaśālā*)[106] were also provided. Playing on musical instruments[107], dancing and acting[108], excursions[109], hunting[110] and dice-playing[111] were items of recreation for adults generally. Magic display[112] and festivals[113] were uniformly enjoyed. Music, dancing and acting on a professional basis was confined to certain families known as *Śailālakas*[114] mentioned in an inscription from Mathurā. The *Mahāvastu* refers[115] to troop of dancers coming from Takshaśilā (Taxila) to Vārāṇasī. The *Avadāna Śataka*[116] refers to as many as five hundred musicians and their master musician (*gandharvikarāja*) at Śrāvastī. A company of two hundred dramatic personages is also mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*[117] while the *Lalitavistara* refers to the theatrical stage (*naṭaraṅgasabhā*[118]). An expert in dancing was known as *naṭāchārya*[119], singers who kept rythm with clapping (*tālikā-gandharvikā*), ordinary vocal singer (*gāyanāka*) or (*guṇavarta*), frantic dancer (*tāṇḍavika*), courtesans (*gaṇikā*) and joker (*hāsyakāraka*)[120] constituted the troup of entertainers. In the same work there is also a reference to clown (*baṭuka*) in the rank of entertainers. Instrument players were known after their favourites. A list of instruments is given in different works of this period[121]. These included drum (*bherī*), conch (*śaṅkha*), trumpets (*paṭaḥ*), noisy drums (*sughosah*), cymbals (*dundubhī*), sweet lute (*vīṇā*), tabor (*mridaṅga*), another kind of drum (*kiṅkiṇa*) and some other minor instruments like a kind of cymbal or small drum (*paṇava*), *tuṇava, vallaki* and *mukunda*.

The Gandhāra sculptures provide an interesting study on this aspect of social life. The musical instruments depicted in sculptures[122] are cymbals, drums, harp, lute, lyre, mandoline, pan-pipes; tambourine. In the famous family drinking[123] scene of five figures,

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now in the Museé Guimet, Paris, the older man is holding a wine-bowl in his hands, and the woman by her side carries an amphora in her left arm. The young man is playing on a tambourine and keeping time with his left foot, his wife is playing on a two-stringed mandoline. It appears that drinking and music were enjoyed by the family members at home. Orchestral music is depicted in another scene showing Nāgarāja with musicians and attendants from Kafirkot, now in the British Museum[124], which Marshall assigns to the early part of the adolescent period, about the middle or third quarter of the Ist century A.D. One can notice lute, harp, lyre, panpipe, tambourine and a small drum hanging down the left shoulder of the player who raises his right hand to strike the drum in rythm with the music played on other instruments.

Musical instruments, and music and dancing scenes are also noticed in the sculptures from Mathurā. The instruments depicted are tabor, flute, conch, drum (*mridaṅga*) and also a big pipe[125]. In one scene carved on a round pillar[126] is shown on the righthalf the lady dancing with her right foot bent and left hand raised in same dancing posture. To the left a male figure is playing on a tabor, and some other instrument, corresponding to modern *dholaka*—a cylindrical form of drum placed horizontally for playing. The party of musicians including the lady playing on *vīṇā*[127], the *Praśādikā* playing with ball[128] or plucking flowers[129], suggest that besides music there were other items of amusement for the people. The terra-cotta figures include that of a young man playing on a harp[130]. A scene from a railing pillar at Mathurā depicts two men in the act of killing a tortoise with sticks[131].

Besides these items of entertainment, magic and magicians, and the festivals provided entertainment for the people. The magician was known as *Śobhika*[132] who exhibited different kinds of magical performances—the names of some are noticed in the *Divyāvadāna*[133] —*manojava, stambhana,* and *śikhī*. The *kaumudi-mahotsava* is also noticed in the *Divyāvadāna*[134], and the *Mahāvastu* also refers to its celebration in Vārāṇasī[135]. Another festival—*ashṭaka* is noticed in the *Milindapañha*[136], but the time and month of its celebration are not mentioned. Dice-playing was another item for pastime, but it was probably confined to old men, and that too of aristocratic families probably with stakes. The *Milindapñha* refers to a judge in this game (*akkhadassa-skt akshadarśaka*)[137]. These items of entertainment varying from people to people, according to their age and circumstances speak of the importance attached to relaxation in every day life.

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Food:—Food constitutes the very basis of human existence. It is also an indication of the taste and refinement of its consumers. A solitary inscription[138] from Mathurā, recording a perpetual endowment by a foreigner, mentions articles of food to be given daily to the hungry and the thirsty; consisting of barley meal (*śaktu*), salt (*lavarṇa*) and flour (*saku-saktu*) and some green vegetables. The evidence furnished by the literature of this period is more exhaustive. The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka*[139] mentions two types of food-hard and soft (*khādya-bhojya*). The articles under the categories—cereals and pulses, fats and sweets and non-vegetarian and other products, suggest a lavish menu. The cereals included flour[140] (*saktu*), rice (*odana*)[141], inferior type of rice (*sakatyoda*), *dhānya*[142], fried or parched grain (*lāja*)[143], barley (*yava-sakta*)[144] mustard seed (*sarshapa*)[145] another kind of pulse (kālāya)[146] and roots (*mūla*)[147]. Flour cakes were called *pishṭa* and *maṇḍalika*[148]. Fats, including milk and curd consisted of ghee (*ghrita*)[149], curd (*dadhi*)[150] milk (*kshīra*)[151] clarified butter (*sarpih*)[152], oil (*tail*)[153], sour gruel[154] (*kulmāsham*)[154] and (*kañjikacchitam*),[154] various types of curries (*anekasūpam*)[155] and pease-soup (*yūsham*)[156], sweets (*lehya*,[175], were prepared from rough sugar (*guḍa*) or candy (*śarkara*).[158] Molasses (*phāṇitam*) and honey (*madhu*)[159] were also used. The non-vegetarian items consisted of meat (*māṁsa*) and fish (*matsya*).[160] Onions (*palānḍu*)[161] were tabooed for the kshatriyas. Dressing was done through cumminseeds (*jīrah*) and pepper (*mārīchaṁ*).[162]

There are also references to meal timings, refectories and utensils in use for preparing various items of food. The morning meal was called *Pūrvabhākshikā*[163] but the menu is not mentioned. Preparations for meals (*bhaktakriyā*)[164], the cooking utensils (*parishkāra*)[165] and the cook (*sūpakāra or sūda*)[166] are mentioned in literature. The *Milindapañha* also refers to an apprentice cook (*sūdāntevāsī*[167] who was expected to have his practical training. The use of drinks-soft & strong—is evident from the literature and drinking scenes are also noticed in art. Besides the popular *Soma*[168], a strong drink (*majjadānaṁ*)[169] and a kind of beverage mixed with sugar (*saśarkarāṁ-pānarasāṁ*)[170] are also referred to. Mutual intoxication by the husband and wife was a source of recreation to both.[171] Aśvaghosha also refers to women enjoying drinks. In the family drinking scenes noticed in Gandhāra art, we also notice women holding wine-bowls.[172]

The vessels of every day use were bowl-shaped ones (*kuṇḍa*)[173], plate (*sthālika*)[174], ordinary vessels (*bhājanaṁ*)[175] metalpots (*manjushalohī*).[176] Pitchers (*kuṁbha*)[177] and (*ghaṭa*) of smaller size were used for storage of water or foodstuff. Jars of unbaked clay

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(*āmakumbha*)[179] also served the same purpose. There were also painted vessels (*chitraghaṭa*)[180], and those of gold (*suvarṇa*), silver (*rūpya*)[181] and other metals. The vessel used for storing ghee was known as *ghṛitakuṇḍa*[182], and its makers had formed themselves into a guild. The Gandhāra sculptures depict the drinking horn[183], the wine bowl[184] and the water vessel[185] besides certain Greek vessels like *kantharos*—a two handled wine cup-[186], *krater*—in which the contents of the wineskin are being emptied. These might not be in actual use, save in high and affluent families.

The information from literature on this item of social life gives an indication of the taste of the people in matters of food, which was, no doubt, meant for subsistence. Fasting (*vrata*)[187], (*upostha*)[188] was not unknown and the people realized its necessity for health reasons, although some sort of sanctity was attached to it.

Housing Arrangements:—The sculptures from Gandhāra and Mathurā incidently provide bits of information on the nature of dwellings in that period, while the literature of the period has a lot to say on this topic. In the construction of the house,[189] a raised terrace (*prāsāda*)[189], preceded the setting up of the walls (*kudyān*) & columns (*stambha*) with a strong base (*mūla*). The roof-rafters (*gopānasi*) were of wood (*dāru*). The rooms had several windows (*gavākshā*) and balcony (*harmya*) was the usual feature in big house, which term also connoted big mansion. In the Mathurā sculptures[190] the projecting balcony with the couples sitting on it is usually portrayed; the *dvāra* and *toraṇa*-gate and gateways- are also noticed. In rooms, partitions (*bhitti*)[191] were set up for purpose of privacy. and copings (*vedikas*) ensured protection from the rain water. The highest apartment was given a special name (*kuṭāgāra*)[192]. Houses were also painted (*varṇitā*)[193], The term *sopānāṁ*[194] suggests that the ground floor was connected with the top one through stairs. A separate apartment for the ladies (*antaḥpura*)[195] was inside the house. There are also references to hovels of straws (*katapali-kuñchikā*)[196] and thatches (*traṇa*)[197]- of which one could see the specimen in scenes from Gandhāra[198] and Mathurā[19]. The houses of the people in affluent circumstances were decorated with beautiful cushions (*pratyastaraṇa*),[200], carpets (*erapa*)[201] and soft-scented beds (*śayane mriduke sugandhe*)[202]. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions[203] different kinds of mattings—(*kilinjamātram*) and (*māndurakа*). For lighting, besides the ordinary oil lamp (*tailapradīpa*), ghee lamp (*ghritapradīpa*), and those with scented oils (like *champakataila, utpalataila*), etc were also used; the latter mostly in temples and on festive occasions.[204]

Luxuries & Social Evils:—Some information on this aspect of social life is also afforded by literature. The *Sadharmapuṇḍarīka*[205]

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draws the picture of a rich man sitting at his door on a decorated stool and fanned by a chowrie. The same work[206] also gives description of a cart provided by the father for his children and it was decorated with jewels (*ratnālaṁkritān*) and nicely furnished. The gay and hilarious life is also noticed in the Kushāṇa art, especially at Mathurā. As evils follow the life of luxury, the social life under review was no exception to it. Quite a few social evils like gambling, beggary, prostitution and crimes are noticed in literature. The gambler[207] (*dyūtakāra*) could squander the accumulated wealth[208] in wagers, which could be as high as five hundred purāṇas or silver pieces. Begging was not unknown. The social parasite, known as *kroḍamallaka* in the *Divyāvadāna*[209] was unwelcome like a donkey, and was looked down with contempt if dressed in good clothes[210]. In the *Divyāvadāna* there is a reference to a charitable house (*bhaikshākula*). The famous record from Mathurā is informative on this point, as the Bakanapati had made provision for the indigent and poor in his deed of endowment. The humanitarian consideration was present, but beggary as an institution was always looked down in society. References to public women are also noticed,[212] although this institution was not new to this period. Four terms- *gaṇikā*, *veśavadhvā*, *paṇyaparinītā*, and *dārikā* are assigned to these women. They all appear to be synonymous, referring to a harlot who catered to the sensual pleasure (*bhogavṛitinā*)[213] for consideration. The chief of public women was known as *vāramukhyā* and their locality was called *gaṇikavīthī*[214].

Disposal of the Dead:—The last item of social life—the disposal of the dead body—is also noticed. We have scenes relating to Buddha's death depicted both in the Gandhāra and Mathurā schools of art. The dead body under a shroud was carried by the kinsmen of the dead amidst the beating of breasts and lamentation with scattered hair[215] (*pravīrṇa keśaiḥ*). Aśvaghosha also refers to the dress of mournful colour[216]. The corpse burners (*chavaḍāhaka=śavadāhaka*) are mentioned in the *Milindapañha*.[217]

We have considered practically all the aspects of social life. The division of society was not based on wealth, or profession, but on birth. A Brahmin boy continued to be a Brahmin even though he might resort to cleaving wood, or be extremely wealthy with his treasuries and granaries full. The family life, with the hegemony of the head, had not undergone any change in this period. Women enjoyed status in family and society. Plenty of records by women donors enjoining fruit for the whole family and recording the names of male members—father-in-law, husband and father-suggest that there was some sort of family protocol. Marriage was

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a sacred institution and its sanctity was in no way affected either by polygamy or through institution of public women. There are scenes of women indulging in family drinking parties—a fact condemned earlier by Patañjali as well. It seems that it was only an homely affair more for the satisfaction of the lord, while in amorous mood, rather than as a matter of habit. But it could as well be the cause of domestic troubles.[218] On the whole, the family life seems to be one of happiness and contentment, and women enjoyed considerable freedom. There is no trace of Pardā system in sculptures, but the reference to *antargriha*[219] or inner house in literature suggests that they had a separate apartment. The dress of the people—ordinary and gorgeous for the affluents—and use of ornaments by both men and women, tended more towards simplicity without sacrificing social position and status. Items of food were many and varied with several dressings. The people were also conscious of the importance of pastime and recreations which were quite a few—dance, music, magical shows, and diceplaying—depending on the taste and age of the participants. The multifarious items of toilet and methods of treatment of hair, easily suggest that people in general and ladies in particular, were conscious of the make up for presenting a graceful appearance. We have also referred to housing arrangements—the double-storeyed furnished houses connected with stair cases, the exterior position having a balcony, and the ladies apartment at the back. Luxury always accounts for evils. This aspect of social life is also taken into account. The end of life—with the bewailing of the members, and the final disposal of the body are accounted. The reference to corpse burners suggest that a certain low class of people attended on the cremation ground providing wood etc. On the whole, the picture of the social life of this period, as one gets from the sculpture and literature and the data from inscriptions, is a faithful one, and does not appear to be much different from the one of the earlier period.

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1. EI. I. p. 383 No. 4.
2. *Divyāvadāna* henceforth *Div*. p. 486. 13.
3. Vol. II, p. 52, ll 14-16; cf. p. 382, ll 10.
4. p. 178, ll 5 ff.
5. I. p. 245.
6. EI. XXI, pp. 55 ft.
7. Lüder's List Nos. 1131, 1132. It is interesting to learn that even in the Buddhist cave inscriptions, provision is made for the dedication of money to the gods and brāhmaṇas.
8. Div. p. 424, 1.
9. ibid. 611.7.
10. CII, p. 135.
11. EI. I, No. 3, p. 383, No. 38, p. 395, No. 30, p. 396. The father's name is sometimes missing (JRAS. 1914, p. 157) and it also precedes that of the father-in-law (IA. 1903, p. 108). ASR. II. p. 34, No. 16).
12. EI. I, p. 387. No. 11.
13. El. II, p. 209. No. 36.

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14. CII. p. 142.
15. ibid, p. 145.
16. ibid, p. 162.
17. EI. II, p. 207, No. 27.
18. *Saudarananda*—henceforth *Saun*—I. 30.
19. EI. X, p. 115. No. 8.
20. EI. II, p. 219. No. 22.
21. *Lalit* II, p. 23 11 2.
22. ibid, p. 22.11 2.
23. *Sadh. Pun* p. 108.
24. *Lalit* VIII. p. 117.ll 17.
25. El. II, p. 204. No. 21; I p. 384. No. 1.
26. *Sadh. Pun.* p. 34.
27. ibid, p. 102.
28. *Div.* 211.6 214.5.
29. ibid 258. B.
30. *Sadh. Pun.* IV. p. 104.
31. *Saun.* VI. 35.
32. *Saun.* IV. 26.
33. pp. 3, 58.
34. Cunningham-*Bharhut* pl. XXXII, XXXIII.
35. *Buddhacharita*-henceforth *Budh Char* IV. 44.
36. XII. p. 157.
37. *Sadh. Pun.* IV. 35.
38. EI. I, pp. 371 ff.
39. XII. p. 139, 19.
40. ibid XII. p. 143. 4 ff.
41. Vol. II, p. 83.
42. p. 47.
43. VI. p. 266.
44. I. 21.
45. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13, p. 22, pl. 7; see also Marshall-*Gandhāra art*, pp. 23, 24, 35, 70—for a description of the dress depicted in the plates.
46. Marshall—ibid, p. 47, fig. 40-41.
47. ibid, fig. 49.
48. ibid, fig. 50.
49. *Sahni-catalogue of the Sārnāth Musuem* henceforth Sahni-cat No. A, p. 83.
50. Vogel-*Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum*-henceforth Vogel-Cat. Mat. Mus.
51. ibid, No. F. 20, p. 109.
52. EI. IX, p. 239.
53. Hamid-*Catalogue of the Sāñchī Museum*-henceforth-*Cat Sāñchī* No. A, 83.
54. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. ff. 120 ff. pl. 53; *Mārg* XV, No. 2, 1962. frontcover;
55. Whitehead. PMC. pl. XVIII. No. 63, 76 etc.
56. Ref. 54.
57. *Saun.* VIII. 48.
58. ibid, V. 7.
59. ibid, IV. 38.
60. ibid, V. 53.
61. p. 276.11.
62. ibid, 222.19.
63. IV, p. 106.11.
64. VII. p. 83.
65. XV. p. 203.
66. IV. p. 63.
67. p. 17.
68. Saun. IV. 26.
69. *Maha* II. p. 467.13; *Mil* 337; EI. I, p. 384, No. 5.
70. Marshall: *Gandhāra*, p. 35.
71. ibid, p. 25.
72. EI. IX, p. 239 with Plate.
73. IX. p. 121.
74. IV. 19; VI. 5.
75. p. 41.
76. Cunningham. *Bharhut* pl. XXXII, XXII.
77. A sculpture from Sahri-Bahlol depicts a warrior dressed in a double skirted coat of mail falling down to the knees, with high boots, as against the long-sleeved

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tunic reaching nearly the hind thigh and tied at two places by cords, and the usual *dhoti* in Bhārhut sculpture. The dress of monks consisted of three items—the upper garment (*uttarā-saṅga*), the lower one (*antravāsaka*) and the outer cloak (*saṅghāṭi*).

78. Label J. 278 etc; Vogel: Cat. Mat. Mus. No. I. 29, p. 110, see the author's paper on *The Toilet and Treatment of Hair in the Kushāṇa Period* (IC. XIII. pp. 166 ff.)
79. IV. 31.
80. ibid IV. 36.
81. *Lalit* V. p. 41.
82. *Saun.* VIII. 50; *Budh. Char.* IX. 8.
83. *Saun.* IV. 16.
84. ibid IV. 38; Marshall also refers to Toilet trays in Gandhāra (op. cit. pp. 17 ff) .
85. p. 11 11.10.
86. *Lalit* p. VI, p. 72.16.
87. Luck. Mus. Label No. 1392.
88. Ibid No. B. 61, 65, 99.
89. Marshall—*op. cit.* fig. 27.
90. Luck. Mus. No. B 80.
91. ibid J. 595, 595A.
92. ibid J. 598.
93. ibid J. 275.
94. Marshall-*op. cit.* figs. 58, 62.
95. ibid, fig. 20.
96. ibid, fig. 41.
97. ibid, figs. 34, 37.
98. ibid, figs. 14, 19.
99. ibid, figs. 41, 96.
100. p. 339.27.
101. I. 39.
102. pp. 395; 477.18.
103. *Sadh. Pun.* II. 18.
104. *Lalit* XII. p. 151.17.
105. ibid, p. 152.16.
106. AS. XL. p. 227.
107. *Sadh. Pun.* II. 91.
108. *Mah.* II p. 175.
109. *Sadh. Pun.* III pp. 71 ff.
110. *Budh. Char.* V. 1.
111. *Mah.* III, p. 169.
112. ibid, p. 442; Div. p. 53.22.
113. ibid, p. 514.18.
114. EI. I, p. 390, No. XVI.
115. II. p. 175.
116. XVII. p. 93.6.
117. III. p. 442.
118. XIII. p. 173.13.
119. AS. LXXXV. II. p. 24.6.
120. *Mah.* III, p. 442.
121. *Mah.* I, p. 327; *Sadh. Pun.* II. 91; *Lalit.* V. P. 40.
122. Marshall. Op. cit. pp. 91, 72, 47, 38, 18 12 (for the different instruments noticed in sculptures).
123. ibid, fig. 49.
124. ibid, fig. 82.
125. Vogel. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, p. 153 pl. 34; *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. C, p. 83.
126. *Math. Mus.* J. 268-Marg. XV, No. 2, *illus.* No. 19. p. 36.
127. ibid, No. G. 48, E. 17.
128. ibid, J. 61.
129. ibid, J. 57.
130. No. 2642.
131. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, p. 143.
132. *Mahābhāshya*-Kielhorn, Vol. III, p. 442.
133. pp. 53.22; 63.27.
134. p. 514.18.
135. III, pp. 12, 397.
136. p. 229.
137. pp. 114, 327.

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138. EI. XXI, pp. 55 ff.
139. I. 36.
140. *Sadh. Pun.* IV. p. 108.
141. Mah. I. p. 327.
142. Div. 496.9.
143. *Saun.* XIII. 15.
144. ibid, I. 12.
145. *Lalit* VIII. p. 120.
146. *Div.* 499.25.
147. ibid, p. 49.
148. *Div.* 297.14.
149. *Sadh. Pun.* V. 9.
150. *Lalit* XII. p. 158; Mil. 63.13.
151. *Sadh. Pun.* V. 9.
152. *Lalit.* V. p. 40.17.
153. ibid.
154. *Div.* 297.11; 496.9.
155. *Mil.* 16.28.
156. ibid. 63.14.
157. *Sukh.* X. p. 27.
158. *Sadh. Pun.* V-9; *Lalit* V. p. 40.17.
159. *Lalit* V. p. 40.17.
160. *Div.* p. 297.11.
161. ibid. p. 409-21.
162. *Lalit* IV. p. 37.4; *Mil.* p. 63; *Sadh. Pun.* IV. p. 106.
163. *Div.*-30.18.
164. *Div.*-185.22.
165. *Sadh. Pun.* IV. p. 106.13.
166. *Mah.* II. p. 478.6; *Mil.* p. 63.12.
167. p. 258.21.
168. *Saun.* I. 15.
169. *Mil.* 278.29.
170. *Lalit* XV. p. 214.22.
171. *Saun.* IV. 2.
172. Marshall. *op. cit.* figs. 49, 50, 51.
173. *Sadh. Pun*-IV. p. 106.10.
174. *Div.* 123.22.
175. *Sadh. Pun.* XXIII. p. 43122.
176. ibid. XVIII. 37.
177. *Lalit.* VIII. p. 118.11.
178. ibid. XII. p. 158.9.
179. ibid XII. p. 175.19.
180. ibid. XV. p. 207.9.
181. ibid. V. p. 41.2.
182. *Mah.* III. p. 442.8.
183. op. cit. figs. 49.
184. ibid fig. 49, 50.
185. ibid. fig. 41.
186. ibid fig. 29.
187. *Lalit.* XII. p. 151. 17.
188. *Mil.* p. 204.6.
189. *Sadh. Pun.* p. III. p. 386.
190. See Vogel-Cat. op. cit.
191. *Lalit.* VI. p. 63.7.
192. ibid VII. p. 77.13.
193. ibid VI. p. 63.8.
194. ibid XVI. p. 186.12.
195 *Sadh. Pun.* XIII. 61.
196. ibid. IV. p. 106.2.
197. *Lalit.* VII. p. 77.13.
198. Marshall. *op. cit.* 66.
199. *Jātaka of the worst evil scene.* JBORS. VI. p. 470.
200. Div. p. 19.20.
201. ibid. p. 19.22.
202. *Lalit.* V. p. 42.
203. *Div.* p. 19.20 f.

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204. *Sadh. Pun.* XVI. p. 337; XXI. p. 403.
205. II. 82.
206. II. p. 73.
207 *Mah.* III p. 169; A.S. LXXVIII.
208. *Lalit*-XV. p. 208.
209. p. 85.20; *A. S.* LXXXIX Vol. II, p. 116.
210. *Saun.* VIII. 59.
211. p. 263.2.
212. *Sadh. Pun.* XIII. 12; *Mah.* II, p. 168; *Div.* p. 529 2.
213. ibid-XIII. 12.
214. p. 251, 21.22.
215. *Lalit.* XVI. p. 190.
216. *Saun.* V. 153.
217. p. 331.
218. *Budh. Char.* XIV. 87.
219. *Saun.* IV. 35.

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CHAPTER VII

ECONOMIC LIFE

India in the early centuries following the Christian era witnessed a great industrial, commercial and maritime activity. The organisation of the professional and trade interests into guilds ensured protection from undue competition and production at considerable pace. In terms of modern concepts, the private sector was well-organised and fairly active, in producing items for exports. This is evident from the account left by Pliny and the anonymous writer of the 'Periplus' who have referred to intense trade between India and the western world. The former also refers to India's favourable balance from exports and he warns his countrymen against the use of items of luxuries for which the Romans had to pay heavily. The list of items of exports and imports by India is fairly exhaustive, and is indicative of the resources of the country and the ability of the people to make full use of them. The Literature of this period and a few inscriptions refer to trade channels in the country and the movement of the caravans of merchants with their goods from northern India to the ports on the western coast, despite the hazardous and difficult terrain in the way with not very smooth lines of communication. The risk involved in such journeys was worth the profit acquired. Northern India was connected with the north-west as well to join the famous inland silk-trade route between China and Rome. Traders coming from Taxila to Varanasi are noticed in literature. The reference to Bakanapati in the record of the time of Huvishka, and in several others are indicative of communication between the different parts of the far flung Kushāṇa empire for political, administrative and economic considerations.

The importance given to trade and cottage industries—did not shade the land economy in Indian life. In fact, agriculture still forms the back bone of the country's economy. The production in this sector is expected to be sufficient for meeting the domestic needs. Natural calamities and drought at that time could have played havoc in the absence of any external aid, and the literature of this period notices this economic contingency and suggests ways and means to overcome it. The references to weights and measures and several varieties of gold coins—some equivalent to the Roman aurei—point to the necessity of meeting the requirements of the people in a developed economy, and also for enduring a fair and honest deal in ex-

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ternal trade. The manifold aspects of Indian economic life under the Kushāṇas may be studied under different heads. Some data from the records of the western Kshatrapas might equally be useful, along with the information from the literature.

Guilds:—Guilds are characterised as organisation of industries or-professional interests on a set pattern. Although noticed much earlier in the Jātakas,[1] the list of guilds given in the *Mahāvastu*[2] is different from that of the traditional number—eighteen given in the Jātakas. A few guilds are also noticed in the inscriptions[3] of western India of the Āndhra-Kshatrapa period. An inscription of the Kushāṇa Period[4] mentions only two, one of which the *samitākāra* is also included in the *Mahāvastu* list. It is, therefore, presumed that the other ones might have been in existence as well. The list of the guilds given in this Sanskrit-Buddhist work is as follows:—

Goldsmiths (*sauvarṇikas-hairaṇyakas*), makers or sellers of cloakes (*prāvārika-pali-pāvārikas*), jewel splendeders (*maṇiprastārakas*), perfumers (*gandhikas*), oilmillers (*tailikas*), makers of pots for storing ghee (*ghrita kuṇḍikas*), makers of molases (*golikas*). curd makers (*dadhikas*), cotton cloth makers (*kārpāsikas*), makers of candid sugar (*khaṇḍa-kārakas*), sweet meat confectioners (*modaka kārakas*), wheat-flour dealers (*samitā kārakas*), grinders of barley meal (*śaktu-kārakas*), fruit dealers (*phalavanijas*), dealers in roots (*mūla vaṇijas*), flour grinders (*chūrṇa kuṭṭakas*), dealers in perfumed oil (*gandhatailakas*), provision dealers (*aṭṭavānijas*). Besides these eighteen, a few more are noticed—Weavers (*kolikanikāyas*)[6], potters (*kulairikas*)[7], workers dealing a hydraulic engines (*audayantrikas*)[8], corn dealers (*dhaṁñikas*)[9], bamboo workers (*vasakāras*)[10], and braziers (*kāṁṣkāras*)[11]

Some evidence regarding the organisation of these guilds and their activities is afforded by the records. The head of the guild was called *Śreshṭhin*[12]—but there is no reference to his powers which he was supposed to exercise over the members of the guild. An earlier reference from the *Vinaya* Text[13] mentions him as an arbitrator in the disputes of individual members. These guilds accepted permanent deposits (*akshayanīvī*) and carried out the duties assigned to them in the deed of stipulation. The Mathurā record[14] of the year 23 records two deposits of 550 Purāṇas with two guilds of (*Samitākāra*—and probably *dhaṁñika*) with the condition that out of the interest that accrued from month to month (*māsānumāsam*), a hundred Brahmins were to be fed in the alms-house, and some provision was to be left for the indigent and the poor. It is not certain if the guilds charged some remuneration for the services rendered, or it was a free service to encourage pious and religious deeds. The en-

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trusting of a substantial amount of money with these guilds, speaks of their economic stability, otherwise a foreigner would not have entered into transaction with a shady concern.

Businessmen & Traders:—Two types of businessmen & traders are noticed—one with a stationery interest in shops, and the other ones which were mobile in their economic pursuits. The former were known as *Vaṇik,* while the latter were *Sārthavāha*[15] as they moved in caravans, while the more enterprising ones with maritime interests were called *Sārthavāhamahāsamudrivatīrṇa*[16]. The shop keepers made their living by buying and selling products (*Kraya-Vikrayaṇa*) in their shops.[17] The trading class included bullion dealers engaged in counting money and gold pieces (*dhanaṁ hiraṇyaṁ gaṇati*).[18] The gold asseyer was called *heraññika*[19]. The money lender (*śreshṭhin*) also belonged to this group. He lent money (*yoga-prayoga*) and charged interest (*prayoga*) for the same[20]. According to the *Milindapañha* the grant of loan was made through a negotiator (*iṇsādhaka*)[21]. If the borrower (*iṇagāhaka*) failed to repay his debt, it caused him harassment *(iṇaṭṭā)*[22] with such consequences as are not unknown. Besides these bankers, there were cloth dealers (*dussikaṁ*)[23]. Their stock included fine pieces of woven stuff (*dussaratanam*) imported from Kāśī (*Kāśīkā-vastra*)[24]. Dealers (*krayikas*)[25] also exchanged their merchant goods and the process was known as *pratipaṇya*[26]. The deposit of earnest money (*avadraṁga*) is also referred to in the *Divyāvadāna*[27].

The term *vaṇik* is noticed in a solitary inscription[28] recording the gift of Puśikānāgapriyā, a vaṇik's wife. This term is used both for shop keepers as well as for caravan traders by Aśvaghosha[29] *(bhrashṭhasya sārthād-iva-sārthikāya)*[32]. The caravan traders, popularly known as *sārthavāha* under the guidance of their chief known as *sārthavāha-jeṭhaka*[30] or *pramukha*)[31] covered long distances. Aśvaghosha refers to the fate of a traveller separating from his caravan *(bhrashṭhasya sārthād-iva-sārthikāya)*[32]. The *Lalitavistara*[33] refers to caravans despoiled by robbers. Lines of communication being insecure, safe journey was possible only under an excellent guide[34] who was supposed to be able (*paṇḍita*), clever (*nipuṇa*), sagacious (*madhāvī*) and well-acquainted with the different passages of the forest[35]. The *Milindapañha*[36] also refers to a caravan owner (*sarthavāhasamo*). It also mentions certain rules governing its regulation. The traders went at their own risk, they were expected to test the stability of the bamboo bridge before mounting on it[37]. The inland traders covered long distances, as for example between Takshaśilā (Taxila) and Vārāṇasī (Kāśī)[38]. The *Avadana Sataka* refers to traders proceeding from the north to the south-(*madhya-deśād-*

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vaṇijodakshiṇāmpathaṁ gatāḥ)[39]. In the *Milindapañha*[40] there is a reference to a merchant going to Pātaliputra with five hundred wagons. That indicates the prosperity and flourishing nature of their business interests.

Besides these two classes of businessmen, there were seafaring merchants (*sārthavāha mahāsamudrāvatīrṇa*)[41]. A merchant of this class, generally invited companions with similar business interests to accompany him by the call of a gong (*ghanṭ=āvaghoshanam kāritum*)[42]. The *Mahāvastu*[43] mentions merchants crossing over the heavy seas on ships laden with merchandise. The same work[44] also refers to the transhipment of goods from the ship to a boat, but this was not free from risk. Aśvaghosha refers to ships struck by the waves (*taraṅgābhihatā*)[45], and the winds (*vātāhatā*)[46]. The pilot (*niyyāmakā*)[47] exhibited his skill in difficult circumstances in saving his boat from going against the stream.[48] Warf and ferry dues (*gulmatarpaṇya*)[49] had to be paid before the ship (*samudrayāna pātra*) sailed with all the difficulties faced by these merchants, their enthusiasm did not abate. A safe return from the sea (*vyuttishṭhati*) or (*vyutpadyati*)[50] was a happy event in a merchant's life. According to the *Milindapañha*[51], Indian maritime trade was not merely confined to costal sailings connecting Bengal (*Vaṅga*) with the coromondal coast (*Kolopattana*), Sauvīra (*Sovira*) and Surat (*Suratta*), but Indian ships touched far off posts like Alexandria (*Alasandai*) and Takkola (*Takkola*) in the west, and China (*Chinam*) and Java and Sumatra (*Suvannabhūmi*) in the east. The evidence from the other side—Greek and Roman—especially from Pliny, the 'Periplus' and the finds of Roman coins—on trade and commerce between India and the Occident would be considered later on in this chapter.

Dealers in items of Luxuries:—Although the term *vaṇik* is comprehensive and could include all types of businessmen, but the inscriptions and literature have special terms for persons engaged in different economic avocations. Those dealing in articles of luxuries and decorations—include dealers in pearls (*muttāratnaṁ*[52]-*muktāratnaṁ*), jewellers (*maṇikāra*)[53], dealers in red sandal wood (*lohita chandanaṁ*)[54], dealers in all sorts of fineries who had formed themselves into a guilds (*singāra-vāṇījagaṇānucharitam*)[55]. We might as well include the perfumers (*gandhika*)[56] in this class. The garland makers (*mālākāra*)[57] could as well be classed here, although the garlands might not be items of luxuries. The perfumers, garland makers and jewellers had their own organisations in the period of the Jātakas[58]. In this period a few inscriptions[59] record dedications by the female members of the perfumer class, and a solitary record is associated with the dedication by a jeweller's daughter[60]. In two records from Amravatī[61], and one from Pitalakhora[62], dona-

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tions by the perfumers are recorded. The perfumers provided salve (*vilepana*), paint (*viśeshaka*), and ointment (*añjana*), although some preparations might have been made at home.

Jewels and jewelleries are noticed by Aśvaghosha and also by Greek writers. Pliny refers to jewel mines in India[63], and Aśvaghosha considers a person fool, who proceeding to a jewel mine should bye pass the jewels and take always worthless cheap stones[64]. In literature[65] at least seven types of jewels are mentioned (*saptamayaratnasya*)—including, besides gold and silver (*suvarṇa-rūpya*), lapislazuli (*vaiḍūrya*), crystal (*sphaṭika*), red pearl (*lohita muktā*), emerald (*asmagarbha*) and coral (*musāragalva*)[66]. Reference to the cutting of jewels into eight facets (*ashṭāmsaṁ*) suggest the existence of another economic class of precious stone-cutters, but the evidence on this point is wanting. In a record of dedication by the jeweller Nāgapalita at Kaṇheri[67], the donor mentions his native town Sopārā. Another inscription refers to jeweller's quarters in Sindh. These references along with the information solicited from Pliny[68] point to a flourishing business of the jewellers. The Mālākāras or garland makers are mentioned in two records[69] of their dedications from Kuda; but the term is translated as 'gardener'. It, however, appears that the florists who sold garlands were different from gardeners who are mentioned as *ārāmika* in the *Avadana Sataka*[70]. These professions mentioned above catered mostly for the luxuries and items of toilet of the aristocratic and high class people. These commanded, besides the internal, a good external market, as mentioned by Pliny with a word of warning to the Romans. The *Milindapañha* refers to guild of traders dealing in all sorts of fineries.

Dealers in Provision and Other Essentials:—The essential commodities include cereals and other eatable products. Besides the flour makers (*samitākāra*), corn dealers (*dhamñika*), grinders of barley (*śaktukāraka*) and flour-grinders (*chūrṇa kuṭṭaka*) who had organised themselves into corporate bodies;[71] there were several other economic professions dealing in provisions or necessary articles for the preparation of food or ready food. These included hawkers of boild rice (*odanika*), sellers of cakes (*pūvika*), sellers of fishes (*macchika*)[72]—different from fishermen (*bālāsika*)[73], dealers in mutton (*aurabhram*)[74] makers of molaeses (*guḍapāchaka*), dealers in honey (*madhukāraka*), sugar (*sarkaravānija*)[75], sweet meat dealers (*ukkarikāpanaṁ*)[76], dealers in spices (*gāndhika paṇika*)[77], and fuel shop keepers (*kāshṭhabāṇiyyam*)[78] Other professions which could be placed in this group were those of oil millers (*tilapīḍaka*), seasum powder makers (*tilakūṭaka*), winnowers of grain (*pavanenāṭṭhāyika*)[79]. Dealers in strong drinks were known as *majjika*[80]. It appears from the list that producers of certain articles were not sellers, as for

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example fishermen (*bālisika*) and sellers of fishes (*macchika*) were different.

Masons, Mechanics and artists:—Half a dozen professions relating to mechanical arts, and an equal number of masons and architects are noticed in literature. The former group included workers skilled in mechanical art (*śilpika*)[81], those in hydraulic engines (*yantrakāraka*)[82]—called *odayantrika* in a Nāsik record[83], carriage builders (*rathakāra*)[84] and makers of oil-wheels (*tailika chakra*)[85]. Those belonging to the mason class were the architects (*peśalaka*), plaster layers (*lepaka*), well-diggers (*kūpakhānaka*)[86], and mud carrier (*mrittikavāhaka*)[87]. Of these professions, only one, that of wheel wright and carriage builders (*rathakāra*) is noticed in the earlier Buddhist literature[88], along with those of barbers, leather workers, and weavers, besides potters and baskets makers, as low professions (*hina-sippa*).

Worker in Metals:—Workers in metals included black smiths[89] (*karmāra*), or ironmongers (*lohakāra*)[89], needle makers (*sūchi kāra*)[90], goldsmiths (*suvarṇakāra*)[91], coppersmiths (*tāmrakuṭṭaka*)[92], worker in glass and lead (*sīsakāra*)[93], workers in tin (*tipukāra*), brass (*ṭhaṭṭakāra*) carvers in ivory (*dantakāra*), and workers in iron (*ayakāra*)[94]. A good many of these professional classes are mentioned in the inscriptions of this period. *Lohavarṇa, lohakāra* (modern Hindi *lohāra*) are noticed in two or three Brāhmī records from Mathurā[95]. The prosperity of this profession is evinced from the fact that a jeweller, who certainly enjoyed a higher economic status gave his daughter in marriage to a blacksmith's[96] son. During the period of the Jātakas[97] the blacksmiths had a guild of their own. the *Mahāvastu* notices a few details concerning this profession. The blacksmiths were expected to be expert in all arts (*mahā prajño sarva śilpehi abhiño*)[98] and could also make needles (*karmāra vo śaknoti sūchi pi kartuṁ*)[99]. They also kept apparentices (*karmāramantevāsin*).

A solitary record from Mathurā[100] records the gift of a goldsmith's daughter. The *hiranyakāra* mentioned in this record should be taken as synonymous with the *suvarṇakāra* of Aśvaghosha's kāvyas and the *Mahāvastu*, and *sovanika* of other inscriptions. The *Lalitavistara*[101] refers to a skilful goldsmith catering to the tastes of many. Aśvaghosha describes the process of purifying gold[102]. The goldsmith was adept in this art of purifying gold and making various kinds of ornaments. The other class of workers in metal, noticed earlier, namely coppersmiths, lead workers, workers in tin and brass, point to a tendency towards specialization. Fine ivory workers

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(*chuṇḍa*) and carvers (*dantakāra*) are also noticed, and Vidisā was famous for this industry[103].

Artisans:—The term *Pañchakāruki*[104]—representing the five artisan class—is not noticed in the records or in the literature of this period. These, according to Uddyota, include the potter (*kulāla*) carpenter (*vardhakī*), artificer or blacksmith (*karmāra*), barber (*nāpita*), and washerman (*rajaka*). We have references to all these professions individually, besides a few more in literature and inscriptions. The potter (*kulāla*), or *kumbhakāra* is noticed in several works[105]. The last work also refers to the movement of the potter's wheel (*kumbhakārakachakraṁ*)[106], and the *Mahāvastu* describes the process of making vessels[107]. In a Nāsik inscriptoin[108], another term *Kulairika*—(from *Kulāla*) is used for those potters who had organised themselves into a guild. The Divyāvadāna uses the term *ghaṭikāra*[109].

The other artisan in this group-*varadhaki* or carpenter occurs in the *Mahāvastu*[110], and in a few records[111] with slightly different spellings—*vaḍḍhakin, vaḍakin* or *vaḍhai*. They had their guild in earlier times[112], but they were classed in the group of low professions. We already referred to blacksmiths (*lohakāras*) and bronze-utensil makers (*ṭhaṭṭakāras*) earlier in the group of workers in metal. The *Divyāvadāna* notices another class of artisans named *śilpikāra*.[113] An inscription from Mathurā[114] refers to sculptors *(selarūpakāras-skt śailarūpakāras)*. Mathurā was famous for its sculptors who were invited even to other places for carving statues. Śivamitra, a sculptor from Mathura was invited at Śrāvastī.

Wild & Low Professions:—Actually these people engaged in wild life were not aborginals, but those of the low class. This professional group included hunters (*lubdhaka)*,[115] snake charmers (*ahituṇḍikas*),[116] dealers in bark of trees (*valkala vāṇija*),[117] bamboo workers[118] (*veṇā*), supposed to be men of low despised class.[119] Others in this group were the corpse burners (*chavadāhakas*),[120] deer stalkers *(māgavikas)*, fishermen *(bālisikas)*,[121] wood cutters *(tacchakas*[122]*-kāshṭahārakas* according to the *Divyāvadāna)*[123], fowlers or bird catchers (*śākunikas*),[124] pig dealers (*saukārikas)*,[125] and ferry carriers *(nishādas)*,[126] some of these professions are also noticed in earlier texts. According to the *Mahāvastu*, the bird catchers used to feed the entrapped ones carefully, and then sold them at a high price.[127]

The Literature refers to a number of low professions unfit for a Buddhist congregation or preaching by monks. These included those of washermen (*dhovakas*),[128] dyers (*rajakas*), dye manufac-

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turers (*raṅgakāras*), barbers (*kshurā vrittihī*),[129] or *kappaka*,[130] leather dealers (*charmakāra*), ferrymen (*nāvikas*) and gold cleaners (*suvarṅa-dhovakas*),[131] rope makers (*rajjukāras*) comb makers (*kochchakāras*), bow manufacturers (*dhanukāras*), arrow fletchers (*usukāras*), weavers (*tantivāpas* or *pesakāras*) grass cutters (*tinahārakas*) and dealers in strong drinks (*majjikas-*).[132] A few more, mentioned in the list, are classed earlier in groups. The inscriptions, however, refer to only a few of these professions—as for example, that of barbers (*nāpitas*)[133] and washermen or dyers (*rayaga-rajakas*).[134] Some interesting details are also given in literature. The *Lalitavistara*[135] describes the process of making rope from *mūnja* or hemp. In the *Milindapañha*, there is a reference to dyer staining cloth.[136] The word *dhovaka*, which is not noticed in earlier literature, suggests distinction between washerman and dyer (*rajaka*).

Labourers and Attendants:—The attendant class included gardeners (*ārāmikas*)[137], cooks (*sūpakāras* or *sūdas*)[138], menial servants (*dāsi dāsa karmakāras*)[139], door keepers (*dvārapālas*)[140], bathing attendants (*nahāpakas*)[141], slave girls bringing water from the wells (*kumbhadāsīs*)[142], female wardens (*kañchukīs*)[143], labourers (*paurusheyas*)[144], and hired workmen (*bhataka*)[145]. The female attendants in the household prepared cosmetics and toilet for their mistress and her lord.[146] Those servants who had to perform very inferior type of work were paid double wages (*dviguṇam vetanam*)[147]. The cook's duties were equally important. The *Milindapañha* refers to a pupil attached to a cook (*sudāntevāsī*)[148] for practical training.

Certain phenomena relating to labour are also noticed in literature. Needy people had to take to service, but their employers were unvilling to give them much[149] Even forced labour (*vishṭi*) was resorted to for making good some loss or damage.

Entertainers and Others:—The entertainment class included play actors (*male*) and female (*naṭa-naṭī*), dancers (*nacchakaka skt nrityaka*), acrobats (*laṅghaka*), conjurors (*indajālika*), and prostitutes (*gaṇikās*)[150]. We have noticed items of entertainment in the last chapter. These were of a mobile nature. The *Mahāvastu*[151] refers to a group of dancers coming from Takshaśilā (Taxila) to Vārāṇasī. An inscription from Mathurā[152] mentions a troup of actors (*śailālakas*) and it appears from this record that play acting was confined to certain families.

Profession Relating to Communications:—There were certain professional people connected with communication. They manned vehicular traffic or piloted shops and boats in the high sea or turbulent rivers. A good guide (*sudeśika*) was a necessity lest the tra-

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vellers lost their way.[153] He was expected to know all about the roads and traffic and was not to be harassed if the caravan lost its way. Besides the guide, there were carters (*śakaṭikas*)[154], and charioteers (*sārathins*).[155] The navy personnel on board the ship consisted of the pilot (*niyyamaka*)[156] and the sailor (*kammakāra*)[157]. The former was supposed to know all about the sea. He also put on his seal (*muddikam deti*)[158] on the steering wheel, lest it be improperly handled. The sailor (*kammāra*) was a hireling working for wages on board the ship.[159] The *nāvika* or boatman was useful in river traffic.

Literary Men:—Persons depending on their learning and skill included writers (*pustaka kāraka*)[160] physicians (*bhishaj*) and surgeons (*śalya*). The literature refers to painters (*chitrakāra*)[161]. This art had considerably matured in that period. Aśvaghosha refers to the painter falling in love with his own subject. Medicine and Surgery were also sufficiently advanced in view of the contributions of Charaka and Sushruta who are supposed to belong to this period.

Land and its Economy:—Agriculture forms the principal industry in India since ages. Political upheavals never disturbed the agriculturists. The arable land (*khetta samaṁ*)[162] fit for cultivation was free from pits, precipices and sewers[163]. The ploughman, known as *kārsha* or *karshaka* after removing the soil weeds, thorns, and stones ploughed the land (*kasitvā*). This was followed by sowing (*vapitvā*)irrigating (*udakam payesetvā*), fencing (*rakkhitvā*), watching (*gopetvā*) reaping the standing crop (*lavana*), and finally after threshing (*maddanena*) it, the cultivator became the owner of much produce (*bahudhaññako hoti*)[164]. Seeds were sown according to particular crops (*yathāphala viśeshārtham vījam vapati kārshakaḥ*)[165]. The fertility of the land was the prime consideration for the agriculturist[166], but that was not enough. Land needed water and irrigational canals were constructed. The ricefields were inundated through these canals[167] (*mātikā*). The output in rice cultivation was great depending on the type of the seed, but it equally involved much labour[168]. A corn called *kumuda bhaṇḍikā* ripened quickly, but rice took about five to six months[169]. *The Milindapañha* also describes the process of reaping barley. It was grasped by the farmer into a bunch, and with the sickle (*dāttam*) in the right hand, it was cut[170] off (*chindantīti*). Land economy involving hard labour did not pay adequate dividends. According to Aśvaghosha, people toiled in agriculture and other works still their sufferings did not end[171].

Besides agriculture, cattle rearing was also connected with land economy. The herdsman was called gopa who looked after the scat-

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tered cows while they went out grazing.[172] These were restrained from entering the field and damaging the standing crop (*śasya*), for which they were eager.[173] Aśvaghosha also refers to the milking of cows at the proper time.[174]

Famine & Rationing:—The produce from land sometimes failed due to drought and other factors, and, in the absence of aid from from other quarters, famine conditions prevailed. The Sanskrit Buddhist literature notices different kinds of famines, the conditions prevailing and the measures adopted by the ruling monarch. The evidence on this point is purely literary and has to be weighed against the back ground of India's industrial output and her trade with the outside world. The conditions described in times of famines can not be taken as unrealistic, because Kauṭilya also refers to situations involving equitable distruibution per unit (*samabhaktam*). The *Divyāvadāna* mentions three kinds of famines—(*trividhaṁ durbhikshaṁ bhavishyati*[175]—*chañchu, svetāsthi* and *śalākavritti.* In the first one, people were kept alive on grains collected in a box for the pacification of the dead. In *Svetāsthi,* bones were boiled and the soup thus prepared was drunk by the people. The last type of famine was so known because the people collected grains and molasses deposited in holes with sticks, and boiling these in good quantity of water, prepared the soup for drinking. The pangs of hunger made people stoop down very low. They had to search for grain in every nook and corner, subsisting on the bones of the dead, and even on the flesh of their kin, as pointed out by Aśvaghosha.[176]

The State had to take certain steps in this state of calamity. The first step was the collection of food-stuff (*annādyaṁ-saṁhritya*); it was to be placed in the granary (*koshṭāgāram*) in every village, city town etc. The next step was to take the census of the population for purposes of equitable distribution (*samaṁ bhaktaṁ*). The census officer was an expert in counting (*gaṇita kuśala*) and the one incharge of the granary was known as *koshṭāgārikam purusham.* The last stage was the equitable distribution of food stuff, which, according to the *Avadānaśataka*[177] was one *kavaḍa=kuḍava* per unit (*divase divase eka kavaḍo*), and two kavaḍas for the king (*rājño dvau kavaḍo*). The *Divyāvadāna* mentions[178] one *māṇikā* per unit (*eka māṇikā bhaktasyāvaśishṭā).* The two terms denoted the same quantity of food stuff[179] viz one fourth of a *prastha*=one sixteenth of an *āḍhaka* or nearly eight ounces. An interesting point in this connection is the provision for an unaccounted individual, and the king sacrificed his preferential part.

The data throw interesting light on this aspect of economic life. In the absence of external aid, proper planning and the harnessing of

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the internal resources could avert calamities in such situations. The literature seems to present a real picture, because Kauṭilya also refers to equitable distribution of food stuff (*bhaktasamvibhāgam*).[180]

Medium of Exchange and Barter:—In a planned economy self-sufficiency is replaced by dependence on others with the usual medium of exchange (*parivartana*)[181] and barter (*niminitva*[182] or *vissajjeyya*).[183] The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*[184] refers to a traveller going to a big city and exchanging a gem for money to meet his requirements. The *Divyāvadāna*[185] also refers to merchandise in exchange (*pratipanya*). Money served as the medium of exchange. In literature there are references to at least three types of coins, namely *Dināra, purāṇa* and *kārshāpana*. The first type of coin is mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*[186] and the *Avadāna Śataka*.[187] The Mathurā inscription of the year[188] 28, records dedication of 550 Purāṇas—silver coins, which are also mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*.[189] It is rather strange that except for a few silver coins—one being of Wima Kadphises in the British Musuem, the Kushāṇa coins are found in gold or copper alone. A *purāṇa*, according to Manu,[190] was equivalent to 10 paṇas of couries of *māshas*. The copper coins were known as *kārshāpaṇas*, which are also mentioned in literature.[191] Golden pieces (*suvarṇapiṭaka*) are mentioned in the *Avadāna śataka*,[192] but it is difficult to suggest if the term signified the *Dināras* or gold pieces of unequal denomination.

Weights and Measures:—A solitary inscription[193] from Mathurā mentions three terms denoting weights—*āḍhaka, prastha* and *ghaṭaka*, which were known in earlier times as well. *Āḍhaka*,[194] was a measure of grain equivalent to ¼ *kārsha*=4096 *māshas*=nearly 7 lbs. 11 ozs. *Prastha*[195] was ¼ of an *āḍhaka*, while *ghaṭaka*[196] was equivalent to 4 *āḍhakas* or one *droṇa*. The *Divyāvadāna* mentions at least four terms-*añjali*,[197] *māṇikā*[198], *vilvāmatraṁ*[199] and *pravedha*.[200] *Añjali* was a measure of corn equivalent to a *Kuḍava*[201] viz. one/fourth of a *prastha* and containing 12 handfuls. *Māṇikā* was equivalent[202] to 8 palas or 2 *Kuḍavas* or *śarāva*. *Vilva*[203] was a particular weight equivalent to a *pala* or ¼ *kuḍava*. Certain terms of measurement are also given in literature—*aṅgula, vyāma* and *yojana*.[204] *Aṅgula* denoted a finger's breadth (equivalent to 8 barley corns), 12 *aṅgulas* making a *vitasti* and 24 a *hasta* or cubit[205]=18 inches. *Vyāma* was the measure of two extended arms (=5 *aratnis*).[206] *Yojana* was the longest measure of distance equivalent to two krosha or eight to nine miles.[207] The distance between Śrāvastī and Sopara given in the *Divyāvadāna*[208] was only a hundred yojanas (*satrinekaṁ yojanasataṁ*). The *Milindapañha*[209] mentions another term *ammaṇa* (*skt armaṇa*)—a certain measure of capacity.[210]

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It would appear that the terms used in the particular Kushāṇa record, as well as in literature, for different types of weights & measures relating to load, capacity and distances were those current from early times. The *Milindapañha* also refers to false weights (*tulākūṭa*)[211] of which the touch was forbidden.

Lines and Means of Communication:—We have referred to some places frequented by traders suggesting their enterprising spirit, and also to caravan traders (*sārthavāha*). It appears that communication were available on regular trade routes. Śrāvastī was connected with Sopārā,[212] and Takshaśilā (Taxila) with Kāśī.[213] Communication between the north & the south is noticed in literature. The *Avadāna Śataka*[214] refers to traders going to the south from Madhyadeśa. Utkala[215] and Kaliṅga[216] were not out of bounds for traders. The *Milindapañha*[217] notices far-off places like the land of the Scythians and the Greeks, and also China and Tartary, Alexandria and Nikumba (*Śaka-yavane pi chīna vilāte pi Alasande pi Nikumbe pi*). The internal lines of communication covered not only the whole of India, but extended as far as Balkh and Khotan[218] meeting the famous silk trade route between China and Rome. The means of communication for longer distances were camels, though Aśvaghosha refers to chariots yoked with little oxen. The *Milindapāñha* mentions charioteers (sārathi).[219] Coachmen driving horses were known as *assadammasārathi*, although it could as well suggest a horse trainer.[220] Boats (*plava*)[221] were available for moving in the high seas, which were sometimes wrecked[222]. The *Mahāvastu*[223] refers to transhipment from the ship to a boat and in this process sometimes bales fell into the sea (*poṭalikā samudre patitā*).

Trade and Commerce:—India's richness in mineral resources accounted for her capturing foreign markets. Pliny calls[224] India the sole mother of precious stones, the great producer of the most costly gems. 'There was no year in which India did not drain the Roman empire of a hundred million sesosteres, so dearly' writes Pliny, 'do we pay for luxury and our women'. Besides the richness in mineral resources, political and cultural relations were, to a great extent, responsible for bringing about commercial harmony between the east and west. From the time of Mark Antony to the time of Justinian, i,e from B.C. 30-A.D. 550, the contact between India and Rome was a matter of highest importance.[225] On the basis of the study of Roman coins found in south India, Sewell came to the conclusion[226] that the culmination of trade between India and Rome had reached during the time of Augustus, and it continued upto A.D. 65, the time of Nero. It was during this period that India supplied articles of luxury to Rome for

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which the Romans had to pay handsomely. Pliny's note of caution might have caused some change in the minds of the people. Sewell further pointed out that the paucity of finds of Roman coins in Southern India was the consequence of the change of the social conditions of Rome itself rather than to any political reason. This contention of Sewell was challanged by Warmington[227] who pointed out that there was hardly any confirmation of the fact that the Indian traffic grew less or, that the upper classes desisted from their extravagant tastes and the use of items of luxuries for a considerable time. He further stated that there was nothing to doubt that constant activity of Roman's commerce with the East even from the accounts of the writers who had no special occasion to mention about India.

According to the 'Periplus'[228] the articles exported to Rome from India were Indian pepper, ginger, and articles of luxury, of which there was a great demand. These included silk, muslin and cotton fabrics. The precious stones, pearls and minerals were also in great demand. The Indian ports at Barbaricum at the mouth of the Indus and Barygaza (Broach) were the important centres for the import and export trade. The imported things included thin clothing, coral, frankincense, vessels of glass, silver and gold, copper, tin, lead, sweet clover, little ointment, also singing boys and beautiful maidens for the harem, fine wines etc. According to the same author, the exported articles included costus, bdelluim, lycium, turquise, lapizlazuli, serics, skins, cotton cloth, silk, yarn and indigo. Ivory, agate and cornelian, muslin, long pepper, and silk cloth were brought from the different parts of the country and exported from Barygaza.

The information given by the classical writers on the nature and volume of India's trade with the west, is supplemented by the references from the Buddhist literature relating to the commercial voyages overseas, the nature of transactions, and collective responsibility. The commencement of a sea voyage for purposes of trade was indicated by the blowing of the gong (*ghanṭāvaghoshanaṁ*) inviting others to accompany the merchant initiating, with articles of merchandise, free of cost and exempted from ferry dues or fares (*sārdham=aśulkena tarpaṇyena*). The response to such an invitation was great and sometimes as many as five hundred merchants turned up for going overseas (*mahā samudragamanīyam*). When Pūraṇa, a merchant, extended his invitation, some merchants came from Śrāvastī.[229] Balasena of Vasavagrāma, accompanied by merchants, covered the inland journey from his hometown, carrying plenty of merchandise in carts (*śakataiḥ*), loads (*bhāraiḥ*), bundles and baskets (*piṭakaiḥ*), and on the backs of camels (*ushtraiḥ*), oxen (*gopaih*) and asses (*gardabhaih*).[230]

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There are also some references to trade conventions. The deposit of an earnest money (*avadraṅga*)—generally one-sixth, was necessary at the time of entering the deal, after that the buyer put his seal on merchandise involved in the transaction (*svamudrālakshitaṁ kritvā*).[231] To avoid the monopoly of an individual trader, bulk deals were discouraged. A disregard of such a resolution (*kriyākāra*) by individual members was taken into account by the merchant guild. The absence of the individual member for want of proper notice to him or to his brother (*na śabdito mama bhrātā vā*)[232] could be taken as an excuse for working against the resolution of the corporate body. This spirit in commercial enterprises was meant to avoid hoarding or glutting of the stocks with any one who could do that for bringing down prices at the time of purchases, and then selling the stock at fabulous price.

We have noticed all aspects of economic life in the Kushāṇa period. The data available from the inscriptions of this period, particularly from Mathurā, and to some extent from those of the Śaka Kshatrapas, are supplemented from the account given by the classical writers and also noticed in the literature of this period. The organisation of professions and vocational interests into corporate bodies was not new to this period, but the list of the traditional eighteen trade guilds, as given in the *Mahāvastu,* is different from the one in the Jātakas. The earlier works mention this number but not all the names of guilds. In the period under study only the wheat-flour guild is mentioned in an inscription of the time of Huvishka, which also figures in the list given in the *Mahāvastu.* The others also might have been in existence. A few more are noticed in the inscriptions from Western India of the time of the Śaka Kshatrapas. The guilds ensured protection to the profession from external forces, and also looked after the interests of the members. They also accepted deposits and carried out the functions enjoined under the terms of the deposits.

The long list of professions, from inland and overseas traders, to dealers in articles of luxuries, provision dealers, the artisan class, wild and low professions, labourers and attendants, professions relating to communication, finally the *literates*—suggest that the economic life was more complicated with a wider range of avocations providing room for the display of various interests. Land economy was equally important. The reference to crops, the nature of land and its improvement and irrigation, suggest that agriculturists knew the importance and also the ways and means of improving and increasing the produce. Cattle-rearing was also encouraged. Drought some times resulted in impoverishment, and there are refe-

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rences to different types of famines and the efforts to overcome the crisis by equitably distributing the stock in hand.

The medium of exchange through money-coins of various denominations, weights and measures are noticed in inscriptions as well as in literature. We have also referred to lines and means of communication between the north and north-east, with reference to trade routes and centres, as well as ports on the western coast. The classical Greek writers have referred to brisk trade between India and the western world, and the list of commodities imported and exported from the country. India had always a favourable trade balance in the export trade, which was viewed with caution by Pliny. This was due to the internal resources and production, and the enthusiasm of the enterprising seafaring merchants played no less an important part in export promotion. On the whole, the economic life of this period centred towards intense external trade and internal production through different interests. The people seemed to have been happy economically as most of the dedications at Mathurā were made by ordinary men and women. The trade guilds enjoyed stability and confidence. It is not certain to what extent Indian traders contributed in the famous silk trade between China and Rome which passed through the extreme north-western part of the Kushāṇa empire. The imitation of the Roman aurei by the Kushāṇa rulers—especially Kujula Kadphises—in design & weight—was very probably for facilitating trade.

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1. The Jātakas mention eighteen guilds (*seni*) but only four are specially mentioned (*Jat.* 1.267; 314; III, 281; IV, 411; VI. 22. These were first noticed by Mrs. C.A.F. Rhys Davids in her Papers *Economic conditions in ancient India Economic Journal*, Sept. 1901; *Notes on early economic conditions in Northern India.* JRAS, Oct., 1901; Rhys Davids—*Buddhist India*, Chapter VI.
2. III. p. 442.8 ff.
3. Lüder's list Nos. 1133, 1137, 1162, 1165, 1180.
4. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.
5. *Vin.* IV. 250.
6. Lüders list Nos. 1133.
7. ibid. No. 1137.
8. EI. VIII. p. 89, No. 15.
9. Luder's List No. 1180.
10. ibid. No. 1165.
11. ASWI. IV No. 27, p. 99.
12. EI. I. p. 381. Nos. 1 & 2.
13. IV. 226.
14. op. cit.
15. *Mah.* I, p. 131; *Div.* 1103.
16. *AS.* XXIII. p. 129.
17. ibid. XLVI. p. 261.
18. *Sad. Pun.* IV. 15.
19. *Mil.* p. 331; *Mah.* III, p. 443; *Div.* p. 501.
20. *Sad. Pun.* IV. 7.
21. p. 365.
22. ibid. p. 32.34.

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23. ibid p. 262.11.
24. *Lalit* XV. p. 215.
25. *Div.* p. 505.8.
26. ibid. p. 173.5.
27. ibid p. 33.1.
28. JUPHS. July, 1939, p. 24. No. XIV.
29. *Saun.* XVIII. 50.
30. EI. p. 395, No. XXIX.
31. *Mah.* III, p. 161.13.
32. *Saun.* V. 40.
33. XV. p. 207.21.
34. *Saun.* XVIII. 50.
35. *Sad. Pun.* VII. 187.
36. p. 195.29.
37. ibid 194.24.
38. *Mah.* II. p. 66.
39. AS. LXXXVII. p. 103.
40. p. 17.
41. AS. XXII. p. 129.6.
42. *Div.* p. 34.
43. III. p. 286.
44. II. p. 86.
45. *Saun.* II. 52.
46. *Budh. Ch.* I. 21.
47. *Mil.* pp. 378, 399.
48. *Saun.* IV-44.
49. *Div.* p. 92.27.
50. *Div.* pp. 35.22; 41.27.
51. p. 359.
52. *Mil.* p. 262.
53. *Mah.* II, p. 473.
54. *Mil.* p. 262.
55. ibid p. 2010.
56. *Mah.* III, p. 54; *Mil.* p. 262.
57. *Mil.* pp. 291, 331.
58. Rhys Davids-*Buddhist India*, p. 93.
59. EI. I, p. 385; II. p. 203, No. XV; Vogel.-Cat. p. 62, Luders List No. 76.
60. EI. I, p. 383 No. IV.
61. Luder's List Nos. 1210, 1230.
62. ibid No. 1187.
63. Book XXXVIII.
64. *Saun.* XVIII. 46.
65. *Sad. Pun.* VI, p. 51; *Mil* p. 118; *Mah.* I. p. 194.
66. *Saun.* VI. 31.
67. ASWI. V. p. 79.
68. McCrindle: Ancient India, p. 129.
69. Luder's List No. 1051, 1061.
70. VII. p. 36.
71. *Mah.* III p. 442; EI. XXI.p. 55 .
72. *Mil.* p. 331.
73. ibid p. 412-23.
74. ibid p. 337.
75. *Mah.* III.p.442.
76. *Div.* p. 500.23.
77. As. XXXVI. p. 98.
78. *Div.* p. 500.20.
79. *Mil.* p. 201.
80. ibid. p. 331.
81. *Mah.* II.p.p. 465.6.

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82. ibid. p. 477-3.
83. Luder's List No. 1137.
84. *Mil.* p. 331.
85. *Div.* p. 70.29.
86. *Mah.* III. p. 442.
87. *Lalit.* VI. p. 63.
88. *Vinaya.* IV. 6.10.
89. *Mah.* II. p.83; III. p.442; *Mil.* p.331.
90. *Mah.* II. p. 88.
91. ibid II. p. 471; *Lalit.* VI. p. 63; *Saun.* XVI. 65.
92. *Mah.* III. p. 442; *Mil.* p. 174.
93. *Mil.* p. 331.
94. ibid.
95. Luders List Nos. 29, 51, 54.
96. EI.I. p. 381 No. I.
97. VI. 427.
98. II. p. 87.
99. ibid 1243.
100. EI. II. p. 105.
101. p. 63. 12.
102. Saun. XVI. 65.
103. EI. II. p. 92; The ivory makers of Vārāṇasī are noticed earlier in the Jātakas. I. 320; II. 197.
104. *Mahābhāshya.* I. 1.48. p. 118 (Kielhorn ed).
105. *Mah.* I. p. 319; *Sad. Pun.* V.p. 132; *Lalit.* XV. p. 207.
106. *Lalit.* XV. p. 207.15.
107. I. p. 327.
108. Luders List. No. 1137.
109. p. 512.15.
110. III. p. 442.
111. EI. X. p. 111. No. 4; Luder's List Nos. 495, 1092.
112. VI. 427.
113. P. 522.9.
114. ASI. An.Rep. 1908.9 p. 133.
115. *Mah.* I. p. 94.10; *Div.* p. 437.12.
116. *Mah.* I. p. 131.15.
117. ibid. III. p. 442.
118. *Mil.* p. 331.
119. *Vinya.* IV. 6.
120. *Mil.* p. 331.
121. ibid. p. 412.3.
122. ibid. p. 413.
123. p. 500.3.
124. *Mah.* p. 241.3.
125. ibid.
126. ibid. p. 95.
127. II. p. 241.13.
128. *Mah.* II. p. 467.
129. *Mil.* p. 331.
130. *Lalit.* XV. p. 208.
131. *Mah.* III. p. 276.
132. *Mil.* p. 331.
133. JUPHS. 1937 p. 3. No. 3.
134. EI. I. p. 384. No. V.
135. XIII. p. 176.7.
136. p. 365.13.
137. AS. VII. p. 36.
138. *Mah.* II. p. 478; p. 63.
139. *Sad. Pun.* IV. p. 101.
140. *Mil.* p. 155.

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141. ibid. p. 330.
142. ibid. p. 331.
143. *Lalit.* XV. p. 196.
144. *Sad. Pun.* IV. p. 101.
145. *Mil.* p. 155.31.
146. *Saun.* IV. 26.
147. *Sad. Pun.* IV. p. 105.11.
148. p. 258.21.
149. *Sad. Pun.* III. 124-125.
150. *Mil.* p. 331.
151. II. p. 175.
152. EI. I. p. 390 No. xviii.
153. *Bud. Car.* I. 72.
154. *Mil.* p. 66.28.
155. *Lalit.* p. 379.17.
156. *Mil.* p. 378.
157. ibid. p. 379.19.
158. ibid. p. 378.
159. ibid. p. 379.17.
160. *Mah.* III. p. 442.
161. *Mah.* III. p. 442; *Mil.* p. 331; *Lalit.* VII. 119; *Saun.* XV. 39.
162. *Mil.* p. 354.6.
163. *Sad. Pun.* VI. p. 148.
164. *Mil.* p. 360.
165. *Saun.* XI. 27.
166. ibid. XII. 35.
167. *Mil.* p. 416.
168. ibid. 14.
169. ibid. p. 292.24.
170. ibid. p. 33.4.
171. *Saun.* XVIII. 37.
172. ibid. XIV. 41.
173. ibid. IX. 42.
174. ibid. XVI. 50.
175. p. 131 ff.
176. *Saun.* XIV. 13.
177. XXXIII. p. 175.
178. p. 293.16.
179. Monier Williams—Dictionary p. 289.
180. *Arthaśāstra* (Shammasastry p. 208).
181. *Sadh. Pun.* VIII. p. 211.
182. p. 279.
183. ibid. p. 41.21.
184. *Sadh. Pun.* VIII. p. 211.
185. pp. 193.5; 211.27.
186. p. 427.12.
187. LXXXVIII. II. p. 79.
188. EI. XXI. p. 55.
189. II. p. 275.8.
190. VIII. 136.
191. *Div.* p. 128.8; *As.* XXXVI. I. p. 198; *Mil.* p. 291.
192. XXXVI. p. 198.
193. EI. XXI. p. 55.
194. Monier Williams; Sanskrit-English Dictionary p. 134.
195. *Sadh. Pun.* IV. 108.
196. Monier Williams; op. cit. p. 375.
197. p. 499.25.
198. p. 293.25.
199. p. 70.28.

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200. p. 56.17.
201. Monier Williams. Op. Cit. p. 11.
202. ibid. p. 806.
203. ibid. p. 732.
204. *Mil.* p. 82.
205. Monier Williams; op. cit. p. 1294.
206. ibid. p. 1038.
207. ibid. p. 858.
208. p. 43.13.
209. p. 102.
210. Rhys David's & Stede; Pali Dictionary. p. 74.
211. p. 279.
212. *Div.* p. 42.
213. *Mah.* III. p. 442.
214. LXXXVIII. II. p. 103.
215. *Mah.* III. p. 303.
216. ibid. p. 361.
217. p. 327.28.9.
218. EI. XXI. 55.
219. p. 266.
220. *Pali Dictionary:* p. 90.
221. *Saun.* IV. 44.
222. *Div.* 101.1; *Lalit.* XV. p. 127.
223. II. p. 90.11-12.
224. Book. XXXVIII. C. 6(21); McCrindle: *Ancient India* p. 130.
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227. *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India* (Cam. 1928) p. 89.
228. Majumdar: Classical Accounts of India p. 290 (See 6 ff).
229. *AS.* Vol. II. p. 16.
230. *Div.* p. 5.
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CHAPTER VIII

EDUCATION

Ancient Indian education aiming at intellectual and moral growth of the pupil was of a personal and practical nature. It was personal in the sense that the preceptor and his hermitage served as academic institutions, and the relations between the pupil and his teacher were exclusively personal, with neither the State nor the Society in any way interfering with the curriculum of studies, or regulating the payment of fees or hours of instructions. The practical aspect of education was no less important. The course of elementary and general education with the teacher known as *dārakāchārya* was followed by specialisation and higher education varying with the castes and tastes of the pupils. Thus, the Brahmin boy was more interested in the Vedic studies, grammar, lexicography; a kshatriya in training in arms, while a vaiśya was expected to know more about accounts and commerce. Education in subjects—highly specialised and of a vocational nature—was also provided without any reference to castes. These included subjects like medicine and surgery. The personal touch or relationship between the teacher and the taught ensured full utilization of the academic resources, and the availing of proper opportunities for the development of his personality. The pupil returned from the home of his preceptor after completing his education as a complete man—intellectually and socially —to take his proper place in society of which he was a unit, and which he was expected to serve in the background of his academic attainments. The filtering and sieving of the undesirable or the incompetent in the process of training saved academic wastage. The data available from the Buddhist literature of this period—*Mahāvastu, Lalitavistara, Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka, Milindapañha, Divyāvadāna,* and *Avadānaśataka*—throw light on different aspects of education in the period under study. These include initiation of pupils, education of the twice-born, places and methods of study, relations between the preceptor and his pupils, Buddhist education, vocational studies, female education, scripts and writing material, and students life.

The Initiation of Pupils:—The initiation of a Brahmin boy started at the age of seven[1] (*sātavassiko jāto imasmim brāhmaṇakule sikkhāni nāmāti*). This is in conformity with the age for initiation laid down by Hiranyakeśin.[2] The initiation started with the appointment

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of a Brahmin preceptor who was paid his fees of a thousand pieces (*āchariybhāgam sahasaṁ daivā*) for the whole period of study. The study consisted in the three Vedas (*tayo vedā sikkhāni*) along with other kinds of knowledge (*avasesāni sippāni*). The method of teaching was simple. The preceptor made the boy repeat the hymns (*sajjhāyati*) till he could get them by heart (*uggahāti*). The young pupil after several repetitions committed these hymns to memory (*hadayangatā*), and could intone them correctly (*vāchuggatā*). He had also understood their meaning (*sūpadhāritā*), could fix the right place of each verse (*suvavatthāpitā*) and had grasped their mysteries (*sumanasiktāhesuṁ*). The study gave an insight into the Vedas and the pupil became conversant with the Vedic lexicography (*nighaṇḍu*), the rituals (*keṭubha*), phonology (*sākkharappabheda*), legends (*itihāsa*). He became versed in the *padapātha* of the Veda (*padaka*), and could explain or answer Vedic grammar (*veyyākaraṇa*). There is also reference to his knowledge into a quasi-system of causistry or sophistry (*lokāyata*), and of the bodily marks of greatness (*mahāpurisha lakhaṇe*).[3] The curriculum prescribed for a Brahmin boy, as noticed in the *Milindapañha*, appears to be in agreement with the accomplishments of a rich and learned boy of Śrāvastī mentioned in the *Avadānaśataka*.[4] He was conversant with the three Vedas (*trayānāṁ Vedānāṁ pāramgataḥ*), along with the glossary (*nighanṭu*), prosody or ritual (*kaiṭabha*), legends (*itihāsa*) and could expound them verbatim. He was also a grammarian (*vaiyākaraṇa*).

The *Divyāvadāna*[5] prescribes a different method of initiation and a course of elementary studies. According to this work, the study did not commence with the Vedas, but with the first lessons in reading and writing, at the teacher's house who had many other students (*prabhūtadārakāh*). The lesson started with the letters *siddhaṁ*, culminating in the accomplishments in writing (*lipyāṁ*), arithmatic (*samkhyām*), accounting (*gaṇanā*) and even in exchange (*mudrāyāṁ*), besides rules of asceticism (*iryā*), mendicancy (*charyā*), ceremonial purity (*sauchaṁ*), good social form (*samudāchāra*), proper mode of address (*bhoskāra*) and the study of all the four Vedas. After completing his formal education, the pupil could take part in ceremonial practices (*brāhmaṇa karma om vāchayitum ārabdhaḥ*).

It was possible for a Brahmin boy to commence his studies with the general subjects (*mahān saṁvrittas*) of letters (*akshara*) and writing (*lipyāṁ*) under the elementary teacher (*dārakāchārya*), or confine his attention to the study of the Vedas as a *māṇavaka*. The story of Panthaka, who was sent first to the elementary teacher, and then to the Vedic teacher but failed to make progress anywhere, is in-

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dicative of the provision for a Brahmin-boy in both the spheres. But the Vedic students were matured in intellect, and physically. They helped the preceptor in the performance of rituals. One Brahmin teacher with five hundred *māṇavakas* on rolls, deputed one of his pupils who crossed the seas and performed sacrifice at the house of a caravan trader,[6] and also married his preceptor's daughter. All the Brahmins were not conversant with the Vedas[7] (*na sarve brahmāṇā vedapāragā bhavanti Jātibrāhmaṇā ev=ayaṁ bhavishyati*). This reminds one of Patañjali's reference to Brahmins as cleavers of wood (*kāshṭa-bhid Brāhmanaḥ*).[8]

Kshatriya's Education:—No age of initiation is prescribed for a Kshatriya boy, nor is the period of his study referred to in the literature of this period. According to Gautama,[9] a Kshatriya boy generally commenced his education in his eleventh year, and a Vaiśya in his twelfth. According to the same law giver, the initiation (*sāvitri*) for a Brahmin pupil did not pass till the tenth year, and for a Kshatriya till the twentieth. The Kshatriya princes, according to *Milindapañha*,[10] were educated in eighteen sippas-arts and sciences. These included different systems of philosophy (*Sāṅkhya, Yoga, Nyāya* and *Vaiśeshika*), arithmetic (*gaṇitā*), music (*gandhabha*), *Purāṇas, Itihāsa,* astronomy (*jyotisha*), magic (*māyā*), causation (*hetu*), spells (*mantanā*), art of war (*yuddha*), poetry (*chandas*) conveyancing (*muddā*) and holy and traditional law (*sutisammuti*). King Milinda was accomplished in these subjects of arts and sciences. This might have been true of the education of the Kshatriya princes as well.

The *Divyāvadāna*[11] also prescribers subjects for their study-which are more practical. These included instructions in writing (*lipyāṁ*), arithmatic (*sankhyāyāṁ*), accounting (*gaṇanāṁ*), counting by fingers (*mudrāyāṁ*), rules relating to debts (*uddhāra*), deposits (*nyāsa*), trusts (*nikshepa*), examination of things (*vastuparikshāyāṁ*), of jewels (*ratna parikshāyām*), inspection and testing of elephants (*hastiparikshāyām*), horses (*aśva*), wood (*dāru*), cloth (*vastra*), men (*purusha*), women (*strī*) and merchandise of all sorts (*nānāpaṇya*). The accomplishment in all sciences (*sarvaśāstrajñaḥ*), in all arts (*sarvakalābhijñaḥ*) and even in the noises of all creatures (*sarvabhūtarantanjñaḥ*) and in the gaits of all moving beings (*sarvagati gatijña*) helped in acquiring an all round knowledge of men and matters. This study was supplemented by martial training which included that of elephants (*hasti sikshāyāṁ*), riding (*aśva prishṭhe*), charioteering (*rathe*), bowmanship (*śare-dhanushi*), use of other weapons (*apayāne niryāne ankusagrahe*), fettering (*pāśagrahe*), use of iron-club (*tomara-grahe*), holding of mace (*yashṭibandhe*), piercing and

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killing (*chediye bhediye*), boxing (*mushṭi-bandhe*), holding the lock of hair possibly in a fight (*śikhābandhe*), fettering of feet (*pāda- bandhe*), hitting distant targets (*dūrabhede*), hitting on sound (*śabda-bhede*), piercing vital points (*marmavedhe*), hitting the unconquered (*akshuṇṇa vedhe*) and accomplishments in numerous other things.

The Milindapañha[12] refers to training in archery under an expert (*kusalo-issattho*) who was rewarded for this by the king. The same work describes the training process. The clever archer first taught his pupils in different kinds of bows (*chāpabheda*), at the training ground (*upāsanasālā*).[13] This was followed by the handling of the bow *(chāpāropanagahaṇa)*, holding it with a firm grasp *(muṭṭhi-patipīlana)*, bending the fingers *(angulivināmana)* planting of the feet *(pādaṭhapana)*, taking up the arrow *(saragahaṇa)* and placing it on the string *(sanadahan)* drawing it back *(ākaḍḍahana)*, restraining at *(sandhāraṇa)*, aiming at the mark *(lakkhaniyamana)* and finally hitting the target—a man of straw *(tiṇapurisaka)*.

The *Lalitavistara*[14] presents an exhaustive list of subjects for study—military and physical, literary, practical and vocational. Some are the same as mentioned earlier—relating to physical exercises, games, and training in arms. The literary subjects are to a greater extent common with those mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna*. A few new ones are also included, as for example, knowledge of ceremonies *(kriyākalpa)*, political economy *(arthavidyā)*, poetry *(Kāvya)*, panthomine *(rūpa)*, art of decoration *(rūpakarmaṇi)*, play ing on *Vīnā (vīnāyām vādya)*, dancing *(nṛitya)*, reciting songs *(gīta)*, drama *(nāṭya)*; and a study of different types of persons—men, women and animals also formed part of the study of a Kshatriya prince. Unfortunately there is no other reference, but the famous scene of the Buddha going to the school in Gandhāra art[15] with the *lipiphalaka* or writing tablet, prominently displayed suggests that elementary studies—with stress on letters and writing preceded every other type of education.

Vaiśya's Education:—The Vaiśya boy had also his share in education—more practical from the commercial point of view. He had his training in writing *(lipyāṁ)*, arithmetic *(saṅkhyāyāṁ)*, accounting (*gaṇanāyām*), different types of money in use in commerce and exchange (*mudrāyām*), laws and rules relating to debts (*udhāre*), deposits (*nyāse*), and trusts (*nikshepe*) and in eight kinds of examination *(ashṭaparikshāyāṁ)*, though only two—*vastuparikshā* and *ratnaparikshā*[16] are mentioned. These were necessary for examining the goods and jewels before confirming the deal. The *Milindapañha*[17] enjoins a merchant to investigate goods before purchasing them. According to an earlier work the *Mahāvagga*,[18]

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the education of a Vaiśya boy was confined to *lekhā, gaṇanā* and *rūpa*. These three are also mentioned in the Hāthigumphā inscription.[19] *Lekhā* included the different kinds of writings with which a merchant was expected to be familiar for commercial transactions with persons outside his region. Accounting was necessary for assessing his profit and loss. *Rūpa* corresponds to the *muddā* of the *Divyāvadāna* referring to different types of money in circulation in those countries frequented by traders. The education of a Vaiśya boy was meant to make him practical in his trade dealings, and he was expected to be conversant with the rules and laws relating to debts and deposits.

Places and Methods of Study:—The place of study could be either the home of the pupil or his preceptor. The school room was known as *lekhāśālā*[20] or *lipiśālā*[21]—suggesting that writing was the most important part of study. Writing work was done on a tablet *(lipiphalaka)*[22] made of *ugrasāra chandana,* with pen *(tirakam)*[23] and ink (*māsīpiṇḍa*). Pencil was also used.[24] The method of study in elementary subjects is also given in the *Mahāvastu.*[25] Counting was done at the place of the finger for the seal ring *(mudrāsthāni).* According to the *Milindapañha,* calculation was done by using the joints of the fingers as signs or marks *(muddāgaṇanā)*. The beginning in study *(adikammika),*[26] calculation *gaṇanā)* arithmetic *(saṅkhyā)* and even in the art of writing *(lekhā)* was clumsy (*dhandhāyana bhavati*), but with attention and practice, he acquired proficiency. According to the *Divyāvadāna,*[27] the elementary day scholars returned from the school for their meals (*bhojanavelā*). There are references[28] to tests in writing (*lipijñāne viśisyataḥ)* and calligraphy *(lekhyataḥ).* The *Lalitavistara*[29] refers to sixty four kinds of scripts, but the *Mahāvastu*[30] mentions a modest number ten only. These were—*Pushkarasārī, Kharoshṭhī, Yavanānī* (Greek), *Brāhmī, Pushpalipi, Kūṭalipi, Saktulipi, Vyatyastalipi Lekhālipi* and *Mudrālipi* or seal writing. The bigger pupils known as *māṇavakas* studied religious scriptures with an *ācharya* as boarders. The preceptor imparted instructions to as many as five hundred pupils[31] at a time. The pupils committed the *mantras* to memory. The *māṇavakas* had their training in rituals and could deputise for their preceptor at an opportune time. When the pupil had acquired mastery in the three Vedas—in contents, intonation and their mysteries, he was put to a test before his father. He repeated his lessons (*anvyogam datvā*) for the last time before his teacher.

Relations between the Preceptor and the Pupil:—The relations between the two were matters of prime consideration in ancient times.

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It appears that there was no reservation on any side. The approach to a teacher for learning involved certain obligations on the part of the teacher which he was expected to follow during the period of the stay of the pupil. The latter too was enjoined with duties towards his preceptor. The mutual obligations, based on the Vinaya texts,[32] are mentioned in detail in the *Milindapañha*.[33] The teacher was expected to conduct himself in accordance with the twenty-five virtues prescribed for him. These included keeping guard over his pupil *(ārakkhā upatthapetabbā)*, telling him what to cultivate *(sevanā)* and what to avoid *(asevana)* where to be earnest *(appamatta)* and what to neglect *(pamatta)*; proper instructions relating to bed *(seyyā)* sickness *(gelaññam)*, food *(bhojanaṁ-laddhām-aladdhaṁ)*, company *(paṭichāra)*. He should boost his morale by encouraging him not to fear *(mā bhayī)*, be zealous *(sakkachchakārinā)*, teaching nothing partially *(akhaṇḍakārinā)*, not keeping anything secret *(arahassakārinā)*, not keeping anything back *(nirvasesakārinā)*, nor indulging in foolish tracks with him*(salāpo kātaboo)*, pardoning him when noticing any defect *(chiddhaṁ disvā—adhivasetabbaṁ)*, and striving to bring him forward *(upaṭṭhapetabhaṁ)* and making him strong *(sikkhā balenāti)*. The preceptor was expected to look upon him as a son and love him, share with him the food, never desert him in adversity *(āpadāsu na vijahitabbaṁ)*, and should always befriend hm as far as he could go.

The duties enjoined for the pupil in the same work are to feel alike pain and joy *(samāna sukhadukhohoti)* as the order does, with no passion for excitement nor running after any other teacher in life *(na aññam satthāram uddisati)*, keeping guard over himself in thought and deed *(kāyikaṁ vāchasikañ-chassa rakkhitaṁ hoti)*, delighting in peace *(samaggārāmohoti)*, willing to part according to his capacity *(yathābalam saṁvībhāgarato hoti)*, holding right views *(sammādiṭṭihoko hoti)*—and the last one relating to the revival of the religion of his preceptor, if decaying *(abhivaḍḍhiyāvāyamati)*. The injunctions enjoined for the preceptor and the pupil, although noticed in religious text—Vinaya—and later on in the *Milindapañha*, seem to have been universally accepted. According to the *Āpastamba Dharma-Sūtra*[34] a teacher should regard his pupils as his sons. This relation between the two is also noticed by I-tsing.[35] As regards zealousness in instruction, and that too, in full, without holding anything secret and not keeping something back, the above mentioned *Dharmasūtra*[36] further enjoins the preceptor to pay full attention to the teaching of the sacred sciences withholding no part of it. The *Praśna Upanishad*[37] gives a definite injunction that the teacher was not to conceal anything from his pupil, as such concealment would spell ruin on him. As regards zealousness, according

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to the *Taittirīya Āraṇyaka,*[38] the teacher had to put in his heart and soul. The *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*[39] makes it encumbent on the preceptor to reveal everything to his pupil. The other injunctions relate to the pupil's conduct and behaviour in food, men and matters. Manu also prescribes the teaching of the rules of purificaton and good conduct by the teacher.

As regards the duties of the pupils and their attachment to one teacher alone, and the performance of certain personal services. according to Gautama, a student resided with his teacher as long as the course lasted, and did not dwell with any one else. It seems that the practice of wandering from teacher to teacher was not encouraged. Attending on the teacher for his personal needs is also mentioned in the *Gopatha Brāhmaṇa*[40] The mutual relations between the preceptor and his pupils were based on bonds of confidence, and communion of life with no reservation.

Buddhist Education:—The education of Buddhist monks or pupils, popularly known as *Saddhavihārika* commenced under some important teacher in a vihāra. According to *Milindapañha,*[41] entry into the Buddhist order as a pupil was necessary for learning Buddhist hymns. For doing this, the consent of the parents was necessary before ordination. The first act of admission called *Pabbajja* is described in detail in the *Mahāvagga.* It appears that the same method might have been followed in that period as well. The study of pupil generally commenced with the Discourses *(Suttana),* followed by deeper things of the Faith *(Abhidhamma).* The intelligent pupil could do the other way as was done by Nāgasena. He was to master the whole of Abhidhamma by heart with its great divisions into good (*kuśala*), bad (*akusala*) and indifferent *(avyāktā); Dhamma-saṅgaṇi,* a compendium of Psychology; the *Vibhaṅga,* with its eighteen chapters, *Dhātupāṭha, Puggalapaññati, Kathāvatthu, Yamaka* and the *Patthāna* along with their divisions or sections. It is interesting to learn the study of Abhidhamma, even by those not ordained or leaving the order after completing their education. The Pātaliputra merchant who fed Nāga sena, told him on enquiry that, like him, he too was a student of Abhidhamma *(ahaṁ pi khotā ābhdihammiko).* The second alternative seems more likely. According to I-tsing,[42] Bhartrihari became a priest seven times, returning again and again to the laity. The *Avadānaśataka*[43] refers to the study of the three *Piṭakas* or baskets of learning. The method employed for mastering the Buddhist texts was by committing it to memory *(kāyagatam)* and then codifying it in a book *(pustagataṁ vā).*

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Vocational Education: Initiation in Medicine and Surgery:—These two branches of medical science had acquired considerable importance in this period. Tradition accords Charaka a contemporary status with Kanishka, while Suśruta might have followed a little later. Medical science had acquired special favour of the Brahmins. Aśvaghosha refers to skilful surgeons who could perform delicate operations in extracting splinters lodged near the heart.[44] Strabo also mentions[45] this academic pursuit on a more scientific and accurate basis. Suśruta furnishes data relating to the initiation of pupils into the science of Medicine and Surgery. The student desiring initiation was to be a *dvija*—one of the three twice-born castes; of tender years (*vayas*), from a good family (*anvaya*) and gifted with qualities like calm temper (*śīla*), prowess (*śaurya*), purity (*sauchnam*), modesty (*vinaya*), capacity and strength (*śaktibala*) good conduct (*āchāra*), with a clear insight into the things studied (*medhādhriti smriti*), contended frame of mind (*prasanna chitta*), pleasant in speech (*vākya cheshṭam*) and painstaking in efforts (*kleśasahaṁ*). Certain physical attributes are also noticed, as for example, thin lips (*tanujaushṭha*) teeth and tongue.[46] One possessed of contrary attributes was not to be admitted (*viparītaguṇam nopanayet*). A śūdra of good character and parentage could be admitted (*śūdram=api kula-guṇa sampannaṁ*) but the *mantras* to be recited on such an occasion were omitted.[47] The initiation of Brahmin pupil could be done by a Brahmin teacher alone (*Upanayanīyās=tu Brāhmaṇah*). Firstly a square sand cushion platform measuring a cubit in length and breadth, was laid on an auspicious day plastered over with a solution of water and cowdung. This was followed by the worship of gods (*devatāḥ*), brahmins (*viprān*) and physicians (*bhishajs*) with oblations of flowers, fried paddy gems, and sundried rice (*pushpair-lāja-bhaktair-ratnaicha*). Next followed the performance of the rite of Homa according to the rules of a Dārvi (*Dārvihaumikena vidhāna*) after soaking the twigs, of the four sacrificial trees of *khadira*, *palāśa*, *devadāru*, and *vilva*, or of *vāta*, *udumbara*, *aśvattha* and *madhūka* in curd and clarified butter. The last rite was the libation of clarified butter in honour of each of the gods and the *rishis* (celestial physicians) invoked by repeating the *svāhaḥ mantram*.

A Brahmin preceptor could initiate a student belonging to any of the three twice-born castes, a Kshatriya could initiate a Kshatriya or a Vaiśya, (*rājanyo avaiśyasya*), while a Vaiśya could initiate only a Vaiśya pupil (*vaiśyo vaisyasya=eva iti.*)[48] The address of the preceptor on this occasion is equally instructive and interesting.[49] Renunciation of lust (*kāma*), anger (*krodha*), greed (*lobha*), ignorance (*moha*), vanity (*māna*), egoism (*ahaṁkāra*), envy (*visha*), harshness

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(rosha), spite *(paiśuna)*, falsehood *(anrita)*, idleness *(ālasya)*, nay, all that soil the good name of man. He was required to pair his nails and clip his hair *(nakha romnā suchinā)*. The sacred cloth *(kāshāya vāsasa)* was dyed brownish yellow, and the pupil was required to lead the life of a truthful self-controlled anchorite *(satya vrata brahmachārī)*. Strict adherence to the wishes of the teacher at meals or in study and in all acts was prescribed for the student. Suśruta also mentions certain prohibited places and dates when the study of Āyuraveda was not to be done. He also refers to injunctions regarding the treatment of persons like hunters *(vyādha)*, fowler*(śākunika)*, habitual sinner *(patita)* and one degraded in life *(pāpakārin)*.

Suśruta describes the general medical education, but the *Milindapañha*[50] mentions the initiation of a medical student either as a physician (*bhissako*) or a surgeon (*sallakatto*). The student first procured for himself a teacher either on payment of fee, or by the performance of service. He thoroughly trained himself in holding the lancet *(satthagahaṇa)*, in cutting *(chedana)*, marking *(lekhana)*, or piercing with it *(vedhana)*, in extracting dart *(salluddharaṇa)*, in cleansing wounds *(vaṇadhobana)*, in causing them to dry up *(sosana)*, in the application of ointment *(bhesajjānulimpana)*, in the administration of emetics and purges and oily enemas (*vamana-virechanānu vāsāna kiriyaṁ*). Only when he had gone through his apprenticeship *(katasikkho)* and made himself skilful *(katupāsano=katahatto)*, did he visit the sick to heal them *(āture upasankamati tikichhāya)*. This skilful training in surgery made him *(śalya)* accomplished in his art and he could himself perform delicate operations.

It appears that the physician's training was different. He was expected to know all the diseases *(sarvavyādhijñasyāt)*[51] which were of four kinds, namely rheumatical (*vātikā*), cholerical (*paittikā*), phelgmatical (*ślaishmikā*) and those caused by a complication of the corrupted humour (*samnipātikā*). He was also to know all the drugs found on the earth (*paṭhaviyam sabbabhesh ajjāni jānātīti*).[52] The medical education also included knowledge of gynaecology. The *Saddharma puṇḍarīka* refers to throes on pain (*vyapanitā-dukha*), while the *Avadāna Śataka*[53] mentions the performance of Caesarian operation (*udaraṁ-ghatayitvā*), and relieving the baby. Eminent physicians (mahābhishak) were skilled in diagnosis. They could make a grievous sickness light (*lahukaṁ karoti*) with the aid of strong drugs. A good knowledge of Pharmacology and Materia-Medica was thus necessary for them.

Several kinds of diseases are also mentioned in the literature of this period, and certain specific medicines are also suggested in seve-

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ral cases. These need not be mentioned here in detail, although the physician was expected to know all about the diseases and the cure for them. There are also references to operations, but it would be outside the purview of our study of education in that period.

Other Vocational Trainings:—The *Milindapañha* mentions *Sūdāntevāsin*[54] or a cook's apprentice, who taking a piece of ordinary nutmeg could prepare a dish, treating it with various ingredients. This training was necessary for those wanting to gain entrance into the royal refectory for preparing dishes, or with people who could afford to keep them.

Female Education:—Accomplishments by ladies in the field of religious literature, and the part played by them in propagating the religion of their adoption, is brought out by the epigraphic material and literary evidence of this period. A few terms like *Śrāvikā, Śraddhācharī* and *Śishnī* are noticed in the Brāhmī records from Mathura. Dinā, Vasulā and Balashastinī are names which occur frequently. The female pupils were attached to Śradhācharī[55] though there was no bar to their ordination by a male teacher. The *Mahāvastu* also refers to the literary accomplishments of ladies. Amarā, an artisan's daughter was comely in appearance, and endowed with clever wit and literary talents.[56] It also refer to a banker's daughter, educated by an ascetic in religious subjects.[57] She could discuss Śāstras with others, and was unbeatable. A Brahmin youth from Deccan ultimately triumphed over her head and heart.

Scripts & Writing material:—We have noticed earlier the reference to sixty-four types of scripts in the *Lalitavistara*, and about a dozen ones in the *Mahāvastu* which could be nearer the actual ones in use in that period. Even the school master had not heard the names of these sixty-four kinds of writings[58] *(yeshām=ahaṁ nāmadheyaṁ lipināṁ na prajanāmī)*. The writing material consisted of a lump of ink *(māsīpiṇḍa)*, pen *(tiraka)* and sometimes pencil *(tūla)*.[59] The stuff for writing was the *bhurja* leaf mentioned in the *Mahāvastu*.[60] The Milindapañha mentions someone calling his clerk *(lekhakaṁ)* at night, letting the lamp *(padīpam=āropetvā)* and ultimately getting the letter written at that time *(lekhaṁ lekhāpeyyā)*.[61]

Student's Life:—The acquisition of knowledge was subject to pain and suffering. In residing with their teacher, the pupils had to suppress their own desires *(sakachittam nikkhipityā)*,[62] and act according to the dictates of their preceptor *(parachittānuvattanena)*. The life of physical discomforts, as for example in sleeping *(dukkhaseyyāya)*, living on distasteful and ordinary food *(vishambhojana)*, and attending on the preceptor for his personal needs, mentioned in

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literature, was a real test of the student's aptitude for learning. He was expected to put up with all these things in his thirst for knowledge. Respect for the teachers by standing up in their presence (*achariyanaṁ abhivādana*) was expected from every student. The best student, according to the *Divyāvadāna,* was called *Svādhyāyatana.* The Students also enjoyed holidays and there is a reference to their leaving on excursion to cities (*nagaravalokanāya*)[63] when there were no instructions. Some went to bring fuel for sacrifice (*amidhā hārakā gacchanti).*

Education, as one notices in the literature of this period under study, was more or less on a personal level between the preceptor and his pupils. The references to five hundred pupils in the *Divyāvadāna* might be an exaggeration. The same number is given even for traders going overseas. Nevertheless the preceptor had quite a good number of pupils, elderly and grown up, who stayed with him as members of the household in the old traditional system. The elementary school teacher ran his own institution for small boys who were day scholars. Provision was made for their teaching in elementary subjects, while the Vedic studies were confined to grown up students. Caste consideration weighed in studies as well. The subjects of studies for a Brahmin boy were ritualistic and philosophical, those for a Kshatriya martial, material and psychological, while a Vaiśya pupil was interested in subjects with a practical value, helpful to him in trade and commerce. The study of medicine and surgery--separately by way of specialization—was confined to the twice-born castes, but a Śūdra could also be initiated. Relations between the preceptor and his pupils were based on a code of conduct enjoining duties and responsibilities on both. The method of teaching was oral, and in writing. Students put up with discomforts in their thirst for knowledge. A few instances of talented ladies in literature, and the part played by Jain Sraddhācharīs in the monastic establishments, indicate that female education was not neglected in this period. On the whole, education was balanced. It met the requirements of society, and the academic output of this period is not meagre, as we shall notice in the chapter on Literature.

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1. *Mil.* p. 9.29 ff.
2. I. 1, 1.2.
3. *Mil.* p. 10.5 ff.
4. Vol. II p. 19.
5. p. 485.
6. Ibid p. 89-16.
7. Ibid p. 485.
8. *Mahābhāshya* (Kielhorn ed) III. 4.69 p. 179.13.
9. I. 5.14.
10. p. 3.
11. p. 100.
12. p. 232.
13. p. 352.23 ff.

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14. XIII. p. 156.9 ff.
15. Fig. ; See also the scene of the Child Bodhisattva going to a school—Marshall —Gandhara Art fig. 95.
16. pp. 3 ft.
17. p. 194.
18. SBE. XIII. p. 201.
19. JBORS. III. pp. 275 ff.
20. *Div.* p. 171.4.
21. *Lalit.* X. p. 234.16.
22. Ibid. p. 125.
23. Ibid.
24. *Div.* p. 532.
25. I. p. 135.
26. *Mil.* p. 59.
27. p. 171.14.
28. *Lalit.* X. 125.
29. Ibid.
30. I. p. 135.
31. II. p. 89.
32. *Mahāvagga* I. 25-26.
33. *Mil.* p. 94.
34. I. 8.
35. op. cit. p. 120.
36. I. 2.
37. VI. 1.
38. Chap. 2.
39. XIV. 1.1.26-27.
40. I. 2.1.8.
41. P. 12.
42. Op. cit. p. 105.
43. II. p. 80.
44. *Saun.* XVII. 7.
45. XVI 1.34.
46. *Sus.* II. 3.
47. Ibid. II. 5.
48. Ibid. II. 4.
49. Ibid. II. 8.
50. p. 353.11.
51. *Sadh. Pun.* V. p. 133.
52. p. 74.
53. II. p. 134.
54. p. 25.
55. I. p. 395.
56. *Mah.* II. p. 83.
57. Ibid. III. 390.
58. *Lalit.* x p. 125.
59. Ibid. p. 122.
60. II. p. 82.
61. p. 42-25.
62. Mil 315.10.
63. p. 84.

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CHAPTER IX

RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS

Religious conditions under the Kushāṇas can best be studied in terms of the attitude of Kushāṇa monarchs—from Kujula Kadphises to Vāsudeva. The titles taken by them and the deities depicted on their coins have much to tell about the importance of the spiritual and religious values felt by these monarchs. Kujula Kadphises calls himself *Sachadhramathitasya=Satyadharmasthitasya,* or 'steadfast in true law" thus provoking the question what law or religion? We find the figure of Buddha depicted on his coins, suggesting that he was interested in Buddhism. Wima Kadphises takes the title *Sarvalokeśvara Maheśvara*- the Lord of all the regions and a devotee of Maheśā or Śiva who is faithfully depicted reclining on his Nandī on the coins of this ruler. Kanishka drew divinities from different pantheons-Indian, Iranian and Greek for portraying these on his coins, sharing the Vedic conception of sages naming variously that which is one- (*ekam sad viprā bahudhā vadanti*). This eclecticism is followed by his successor Huvishka, but Vāsudeva confines the divinities on his coins only to OHPO=Vameśa or Śiva and Nanā=Ambā. As his name suggests, he was a devotee of Vishṇu, but only Śiva and his consort (Ambā) figure on his coins. The later Kuṣhāṇas also have only these two on their coins. Thus, we notice the trend from Budddhisim to Eclecticism and ultimately towards Brahmanism, in the attitudes of these monarchs, but they were not bigoted. The epigraphic records of this period provide ample material for the study of the religious conditions in India, particularly Brahmanism, Buddhism, Jainism, and Nāga worship. The literature also adduces evidence on materialism. We propose considering all these aspects of religious life and conditions in that period.

Brahmanism:—The term Brahmanism connotes that socio-religious order which recognises the supremacy of the Brahmins, who receive handsome *dakshiṇas* or fees in the performance of sacrificial rites. Acceptance of Brahmanical hierarchy and the performance of sacrifice involving the slaughter of animals, were the targets of attack by the Śramaṇas. They condemned Brahmanism for its emphasis on caste distinction and slaughter of animals (*jīvahatyā*). It was, therefore, felt that Brahmanism received a set back with the rise of the Śramaṇa religions, and it could not be revived or be renovated before the advent of the Guptas to power. This suggestion was first made by R.G. Bhandarkar,[1] followed by R.D. Banerji.[2] The

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latter pointed out that the principal work of the Brahmins in the fifth and sixth century A.D. was to reform Hinduism or the orthodox Brahmanical religion from the state of torper into which it had fallen during the long rule of the barbarians. He also referred to the rise of northern Buddhism during the reign of Kanishka and the creation of a pantheon of superior and inferior deities which had constituted that religion into a very strong rival of orthodox Buddhism. The points raised by the two scholars necessitate prior consideration.

As regards the credit for the revival and renovation of Brahmanism to the Gupta monarchs; sufficient information was provided by D. R. Bhandarkar[3] in suggesting that Brahmanism was revived with the accession of the Brahmin Śuṅga monarch Pushyamitra, long before the Guptas, and this revival continued till the time of the Śātakarṇi Gautamīputra who performed *Rājasūya Yajña* once, and *Aśvamedha* twice. He also referred to a slightly earlier inscription found at Ghosundi not far from Chittorgarh crediting Gajāyana Parāśariputra Sarvatāta with the celebration of a similar Aśvamedha. He was supposed to be a Kāṇva rulers. From the time of the Śuṅgas to that of the Śātakarṇis, Brahmanism was a living force and sacrificial rites continued to be performed.

This state of affairs continued and there is hardly any evidence of Brahmanism receiving a setback under the Kushāṇas. This is evident from the inscriptions, Brahmanical deities on the Kushāṇa coins, the data relating to it in Sanskrit—Buddhist literature, and the statues of Brahmanical divinities of this period from Mathura. The Mathurā record[4] of the time of Vāsishka, dated in the year 24, is inscribed on a Yūpa pillar recovered from Īśāpur- now in the Mathura Museum. It refers to the setting up of the Yūpa and the performance of sacrificial rites in session for twelve days by Droṇala, son of Rudrila, a Brahmin of the Bhāradvāja gotra. He was a Chhandogya Brahmin. This Yajña was performed for the propitiation of fires (*priyantām Agnayāḥ*) and was called *dvādaśarātri*. It must have been a part of the *Saptasoma* sacrifice with the number of days elongated. It is mentioned separately from the *Agnishṭoma* in the *Atharvaveda*.[5]

Besides the Mathurā Yūpa with an inscription of time of the Kushāṇa monarch recorded on it, several other Yūpas were erected in this period. The Badva (Kotah) Yūpas[6] are dated in the Krita year 295=237 A.D. and commemorate the performance of *Trirātra* sacrifice. The Allahabad Municipal Museum Yūpa inscription[7] inscribed in the 23rd regnal year of a certain king belongs to the second century of the Christian era on palaeographic grounds. It commemorates the erection of seven Yūpas, connected with the *Saptasoma* sacrifice (*Saptasoma Yajña*). It also refers to the bestowal of *dak-*

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shiṇā by the propitiator. The third record[8] from Nandasa in the former Udaipur State refers to the performance of the *Shashtirātra* sacrifice by Śaktiguṇa in the Krita year 282=225 A.D. There are two undated yūpa records from Bijaygarh[9] (Bharatpur) and Nagari[10] recording the *Puṇḍarīka* and *Vājapeya* sacrifices respectively, On palaeographic grounds these can be placed in the third century A.D. Although these Yūpas are dated in the era other than that of the Kushāṇas, there is nothing to doubt that Brahmanism was a strong force in the period when these were set up. The names of the rulers at that time are not mentioned in these records. We have to consider these as representing the religious condition of northern India before the advent of the Guptas. This should contradict the views of those scholars who believed Brahmanism to be a dead force before the Guptas.

Besides the sacrifices in which Brahmin priests officiated and received gifts in cash and kind, provision was made for feeding them in almshouse. The Mathurā Brāhmī inscription[11] dated in the year 28 of the time of Huvishka records a permanent deposit of a sum of 1100 Purāṇas with two guilds with the stipulation that out of the interest that was to accrue from month to month, a hundred Brahmins were to be feed, and every day some provision was to be left out at the door for the hungry and thirsty. That donor was a foreigner, and the Puṇyaśālā or alms house is called *Prāchīnī*—an ancient one, and not the eastern one, as suggested by Sten Konow. Another Māt inscription[12] refers to the entrusting of a *devakula* to Brahmins, and they were provided with a grant. The Kshatrapa records of the second century A.D. also mention dedications for the Brahmins. One inscription of Ushavadāta[13] from a Nāsik cave records donations of sixteen villages to the gods and Brahmins, and caused one hundred Brahmins to be fed all the year round (*anuvarshaṁ Brāhmaṇa śatasahasri bhoja pavitrā*) and he gave eight wives to Brahmins at the religious centre of Prabhāsā (*Prabhāsā puṇyatīrthe brāhmaṇebhaḥ ashṭabhāryā pradena*). The *Divyāvadāna*[14] mentions gifts to Brahmins (*Brahmadeya*), while in the *Mahāvastu*[15] there is a reference to a Brahmin preceptor being invited from Samudrapattana for performing sacrifice. The preceptor sent his pupil for this purpose, and he received handsome gifts. These corroborate the evidence from inscriptions relating to the state of Brahmanism- in terms of sacrifices and recognition of the hierarchy of the Brahmins.

Brahmanical Divinities:—Literature and Coins also adduce evidence on the worship of the Brahmanical divinities. The *Mahāvastu* and *Lalita-vistara* refer to Vishṇu[16] and Nārāyaṇa[17] respectively both signifying the same god who occupies the highest position in

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the *Brāhmaṇas.*[18] The Vedic god Vishṇu, the cosmic and philosophic Nārāyaṇa with his own paradise *sveṭadvīpa* or the white island as described in the *Nārāyanīya*[19] and the last one Vāsudeva, more militant and historical in character- were all rolled into one. Vāsudeva is the name taken by the last ruler of the second Kushāṇa family- suggesting, as is very likely, that he was a devotee of Vāsudeva or Vishṇu. On his coins he does not introduce this Brahmanical deity, but out of so many portrayed on his predecessor's coins, only Śiva and Naṇā figure on his coins. The identity of Nanā seems not difficult as the word is noticed even in the *Rigveda*[20] in the sense of 'mother', and this female divinity may be the mother- goddess *Ambā-*[21] one of the names given to the consort of Śiva later on in the *Amarakośa.*[22] The attributes and objects in her hands and her *Vāhana* are also faithfully depicted. Besides Śiva- who is named OHPO on the Coins, Rudra, Śiva and Pāśupata are the other names noticed in literature of this period.[23] Probably Saivism was the most popular phase in Brahmanism- Śiva is depicted on the coins of all the Kushāṇa monarchs from Wima Kadphises onwards. According to Tārānātha,[24] Aśvaghosha was a devotee of Maheśvara before he turned a Buddhist. In the *Milindapñha*[25] Śivakas are distinguished from the Brāhmaṇas and Samaṇas. The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*[26] mentions Iśvara and Maheśvara. Śiva is also mentioned in the *Avadāna-Śataka,*[27] and the *Divyāvadāna*[28] gives him two other names- Janārdhana and Śaṅkara.

The coins of Huvishka notice four Brahmanical divinities- either representing a single god Kārttikeya or four separate gods. According to D.R. Bhandarkar[29] they were four different gods and not one god Kārttikeya who is given seventeen names in the *Amarakośa.* The images of Śiva, Skanda and Viśākha were worshipped in the time of Patañjali[30] (*sampratī pūjārtha*). Dr. Bhandarkar[31] took this evidence as an indication of the existence of three different divinities- Skanda Mahāsena & Kumāra with a separate status for Viśākha who is distinguished from Skanda by Patañjali. He, however, came to the conclusion on the basis of the study of the *Mahābhārata* which refers to Viśākha rising from the right side of Skanda that there was a tendency of making the two as one person, as was done in later times. The literature of this period[32] mentions only Skanda. It is, therefore, suggested that only Skanda or Kārttikeya was worshipped, but his sphere of activities were connoted by different names, as for example-Mahāsena representing him as the commander of the army of gods. It is not necessary to go into the antiquity of these gods[33] here.

Other Brahmanical deities noticed in literature are Varuṇa, Brahmā, Kubera, Chandra, Sūrya, Dhanada and Gaṅgā.[34] Varuṇa

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was the vedic deity propitiated for correcting the moral sins of the people.[35] He was the god of the sky and the water; and associated with other divinities. In the *Avadāna Śataka*[36] he is mentioned along with Śiva, Kubera, Indra & others. The importance of Kubera, as the lord of the riches, is evinced from sculptures as well. He is shown enjoying the Āsava drink. Chandra and Sūrya are noticed in literature,[37] and the statues of the latter also found in Mathurā art. Brahmanical gods and goddess, whose statues have been found in Mathurā include those of Brahmā (No. 382), Indra with Kīrti-Mukuṭa (1178), Agni with Āyuddha-Purusha (2883), Balarāma (C 15) wearing Varṇamālā with Chakra in Abhaya-Mudrā, Svāmi Kārttika (2949)- the statue also bears an inscription dated in the year 11, Ganeśa (269)- Mathurā was noted for the worship of Śiva and Vishṇu, and Megasthenes records this fact. Śaiva statues- Śiva & Pārvatī, the Ardhanārīśvara form, the human couple form, *Mukha-liṅga* and *eka-linga,* belonging to this period have been found in Mathura.[38] The statues of Vishṇu- standing (No. 248) in Abhayamudrā with his *saṅkha* and *chakra,* with eight arms (No. 512) in the Narasiṁha & Varaha incarnations, and as Hari-Hara-half Śiva & half Vishṇu figure prominently in the Mathurā school of art. The *Saptamātrikās* (F. 38) or the seven mother goddess are also mentioned in the *Divyāvadāna.*[39]

The data available from inscriptions, coins, literature and art, suggest that Brahmanism was a living force in that period. The performance of Vedic sacrifices was common. The Brahmins received handsome fees, and even otherwise their heirarchy in the socio-religious scheme was recognised by making provision for them in cash and kind even by those foreigners who had accepted Brahmanism. The Popular phase of this religion, namely, the propitiation of gods and goddesses and the setting up of their statues is amply demonstrated by portraying their figures on coins, carving out their statues, and reference to them in literature. In the light of these facts, is there any ground for presuming that Brahmanism received a setback under the Kushāṇas and was revived in the time of the Guptas?

Buddhism:—The period under review is equally noted for transition in the history of Buddhism. The Sanskrit-Buddhist literature exhibits this new trend, as pointed out in the last chapter. The inscriptions recording Buddhist dedications mention different schools of Buddhism- both conservative and liberal, thereby pointing to their differences. The convening of the fourth Buddhist council in the time of Kanishka and under his patronage was an important landmark in the history of Buddhism. The old school of the Sthaviravādins with its off-shoots the Sarvāstivādins and the

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Dharmaguptikas was as strong as the new school of the Mahāsaṅghikas. Their Vihāras or religious establishments were both in Mathurā as well as in the North-West, and the importation of a dialectician to meet the challange of the other school is noticed in a record. A general survey of the state of Buddhism can be attempted primarily on the basis of inscriptions, with such other pieces of evidence as are available from literature and traditional accounts from the Tibetan and Chinese sources.

Different Schools of Buddhism:—

(a) *Epigraphic Evidence:*—The existence of the two important schools of Buddhism namely that of the Sarvāstivādins and of the Mahāsāṅghikas is noticed in the Brāhmī and Kharoshṭhī records of this period. The earliest one is the Mathurā lion capital inscription[40] of the time of Śoḍasa. It records the coming of a dialectician (*khalula*) from the Sarvāstivādin headquarters at Nagara in Jalalabad (Afghanistan) to Mathurā to counter-act the propagation of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The earliest Kushāṇa record dated in the year 13 from Kalwan[41] records the deposit of relics for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin sect. The famous Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket inscription[42] notices the gift of the casket dedicated in Kanishka's' Vihāra and Mahāsena's saṅghārāma for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins. Other Kharoshṭhī inscriptions recording dedication for the Sarvāstivādins include those from Zeda[43] & Kurram [44] of the year 11 & 20 respectively of Kanishka's era. Another inscription[45] records dedication of Yola Mira Shāhi for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins. These records from the Kharohsṭhī region suggest Sarvāstivādin establishments in Afghanistan, west Punjab and Sindh.

The Brāhmī records belonging to this school include those of dedications made by Friar Bala- at Śrāvastī[46] and also at Sārnāth. The statue of a Bodhisattva along with an umbrella and a stick were dedicated at a place where the Lord used to walk in the Kosambakuṭī, as the property of the Sarvāstivādins. The Sārnāth records of the same donor do not mention the name of the school. An inscription[47] on the railing surrounding the old stūpa in the south chapel of the main shrine mentions the school of the Sarvāstivādins. It is similar to another[48] one found there and described by Vogel. It runs- *āchāryanam Sarvāstivādīnaṁ parigrahe.* These two records from Sārnāth point to its being a centre of the Sarvāstivādins.

Mathurā was of course, the most important place for the Sarvāstivādins who faced the opposition of the Mahāsāṅghikas there. Besides the Lion capital inscription mentioned earlier, a few records of the Kushāṇa period are associated with this school. An inscription

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engraved on a pedestal[49] of an image records its dedication for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādins. Similarly the Anyor Bodhisattva inscription[50] records the setting up of the image as an object of homage to the Sarvāstivādins (*Sarvāstivādinām parigrahe*).

The other school of the Mahāsāṅghikas had its centres at Mathurā and in Afghanistan. The Mathura lion capital inscription reveals the strength of this school at Mathurā. The Wardhak inscription[51] dated in the year 51 of the time of Huvishka records the establishment of the relics of Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega Vihāra, in possession of the Mahāsānghika teachers. There is no other record in Kharoshṭhi of the Mahāsāṅghikas. The earliest Brāhmī record connected with this school is dated in the year 10 of Kanishka's era. It is recorded on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image dedicated by Nāga-datta, an inmate of the Vihāra to the Kraushṭikīya monastery in the gandhakuṭi[52] of his own shrine. The Mahāsāṅghika records include the Palikhera stone bowl inscription,[53] another one recovered[54] from the same place, and a third one from the Matagali at Mathurā[55]. The second refers to the Āpnaka Vihāra of the Mahāsāṅghika monks, while the last one records the erection of something in the Chūtaka Vihāra (mango monastery). This record is dated in the year 91 of the Kushāṇa era. A new record[56] dated in the year 67 of the time of Mahārāja Devaputra Vāsudeva records the setting up of an image for the Mahāsāṅghikas.

Besides these two important schools, a solitary Brāhmī record[57] refers to the Dharmaguptikas, the school closely allied to that of the Sarvāstivādins at Mathurā. It is recorded on the pedestal of a Bodhisattva image which was established by Puśika Nāgapriyā in the sanctuary of her own Chaitya in the possession of the Dharmaguptika teachers.

(b) *Literary Evidence:*—Besides these epigraphic records the literature of this period has also something to add on the existence of different schools of Buddhism. It has been pointed out in the last chapter that both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna flourished, and the authors are supposed to have a foot in Hīnayānism and another in Mahāyānism, the only difference being the variation in degree of the progressive ideas. The *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka* and the *Lalitavistara* have traces of a greater degree of Mahāyāniṣm, while the *Mahāvastu* marks the period of transition from the conception of the Buddha as a simple mortal being of the Hīnayāna to that of quasi-eternal god of Mahāyānism. The Colophon at the end of the work reveals its importance as the book for the Lokottaravādins.[58] As regards Aśvaghosha and his works, the Chinese traditions assign[59] him to the Sarvāstivādin school and name Pārśva being responsible for his con-

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version. In his works, one notices the feeling of devotion and his eulogy on Śraddhā,[60] and finds parallels in the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka*[61] and the *Lalitavistara*.[62] Johnston came to the conclusion[63] that it was best to consider Aśvaghosha being either a Bahuśrutika or an adherent of the school from which the Bahuśrutikas issued. Whatever might have been his views, it can hardly be denied that Aśvaghosha was to a greater extent influenced by the Yogāchāra school which laid so much emphasis on the attainment of ultimate truth through the practice of Yoga (*āsthāya yogaṁparigaṁya tatvaṁ*).[64] The influence of this school is perceptible in his works. The *Mahāyāna Śraddhotpāda Śāstra,* is said to be associated with the celebrated Buddhist poet.

The Sarvāstivādins & the Buddhist Council:—The relations of the Sarvāstivādins with the Mahāsāṅghikas are difficult to define and sufficient material is not available to give a connecting account of this important sect. The *Kathāvatthu* alludes to its doctrines,[65] thereby suggesting its antiquity. It flourished in Gandhāra, Kashmir and Central[66] Asia, but it was hardly known in Ceylon or in Southern India. It was the principal northern form of Hīnyānism, like the Theravāda in the south and, according to I-tsing, it prevailed in the Malaya Archipelago. The fourth Buddhist council is recorded by Hiuen-tsang and Tārāṇāth and earlier by Paramārtha (499-509 A.D.) in his life of *Vasubandhu.* According to the earliest source, about five hundred years after Buddha's death, an Indian arhat, called Katyāyāniputra a monk of the Sarvāstivādin school, went to Kashmir. There with 500 other Arhats and 500 Bodhisattvas, who collected the Abhidharma of the Sarvastivadins and arranged it in eight books called Ka-lan-ta (sanskrit *grantha*) or Kan-tu (Pali *gantho*). This compilation was also called *Jñānaprasthāna.* The role of the Sarvāstivādins and the council's venue in Kashmir are also notified by the Chinese pilgrim. He tells us that the king acting in consultation with Pārśva issued invitations to all the learned doctors of his realm—out of whom only 499 Arhats were selected. According to Tārānāth,[67] this third (not fourth) council put an end to the dissentions which had been distracting the Buddhist Church for nearly a century and that it recognised all the eighteen sects as holding the true doctrine. It put the Vinaya in writing as well as such parts of the *Sūtrapiṭaka* and *Abhidharma* as were still unwritten and corrected the written texts. All kinds of Mahāyānist writings appeared at this time. Eliot presumes[68] that this council was not a specially Mahāyānist meeting but rather a conference of peace and compromise. The tradition connecting the Sarvāstivādins with the council is not likely to be wrong. Kanishka's association with the Sarvāstivādins is evident from the Shah-ji-ki-dheri casket inscription. The Sarvāstivā-

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dins probably did not fare better in Mathurā. The few Brāhmī records—only one dated in the year 2, the other two being undated—suggest that this Buddhist school flourished during the time of Kanishka, while the Mahāsāṅghikas continued as late as the year 91 of the Kushāṇa era. In the Hīnayāna literature—confined to the Avadānas, the *Milindapañha* and portions of *Mahāvastu* dealing with the Avadānas, one notices the incorporation of the conception of the Bodhisattva and the practice of Pāramitā or virtues. The earliest Theravādin school was ignorant of the Pāramitā. In the Divyāvadāna there are references[69] to six of these, namely, *dāna, sīla, sānti, vīrya, dhyāna* and Prajñā, and stories were invented in association with the life of the Buddha to inspire faith in the masses. The same work also refers[70] to the aspiration for the attainment of Buddhahood. The *Lalitavistara* stresses[71] on evincing faith in the Buddha for enjoying his protection. This shows that the Bhakti element had crept in Hīnayānism as well—which might be due to the influence of Brahmanism, or an attempt to bring both the schools nearer by laying stress on devotion to the Buddha.

Mahāsāṅghikas-Lokottaravādins:—The existence of the Mahāsāṅghika school is revealed from the epigraphic records noticed earlier. The *Mahāvastu* discloses its identity in the colophon at the end of the work as the Vinaya of the Lokottaravādin-Mahāsāṅghikas. It serves as a bridge between the Hīnayānist conception of the Lord as a simple mortal being and the Mahāyānist conception as a quasi-eternal god sending illusory images in this world. The Lokottaravādins laid emphasis on the super human (*lokottara*) character of the Buddha in the past and in the present. The work refers[72] to ten *Bhūmis—Durārohā, Baddhamānā, Pushpamaṇḍitā, Ruchirā, Chittavistarā, Rūpavatī, Durjayā, Jammanideśa, Yauvarājya,* and *Abhisheka-bhūmi* through which a Bodhisattva had to pass before attaining enlightenment. The Lokottaravādin conception of the *Bhūmi* and *Charyās* served as the seeds for the later development of Mahāyānism. There are no references to the Bodhisattva Amitābha, Avalokteśvara, Mañjuśrī and the doctrine of voidness (*śūnyātā*) which are the characteristic features of Mahāyānism. The school of the Mahāsāṅghikas flourished for a long time. Mathurā was its stronghold. Its latest record is dated in the year 92.[73] Its influence extended as far as Wardhak in north-west,[74] and Karle in the south-west, as is evident from the two inscriptions[75] recording gifts by Gautamīputra Śātakarṇi and Vāśisṭhiputra Śrī Pulumāvi.

Mahāyānism:—There is no epigraphic record connected with Mahāyānism, but extracts and data from literature throw light on this liberal and progressive school of Buddhism. The Mahāyāna school is noted for its emphasis on three points—the substitution of the

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career of a future Buddha for the conquest of the quality of an Arhat, secondly the creation of a new theory of voidness (*śūnyatā*) —Pali Suññato), and thirdly the transformation of the Buddhas into great mythological gods, almost eternal, the deification of future Buddhas as helping providences, and by a parallel development the practice of devotion (*bhakti*) towards these great beings (*mahā sattva*) instead of the respect and meditation practised by the ancients towards the Buddha.[76] In the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka,* the Buddha is regarded as the *Summum bonum,* actually nothing less than a god above all gods, the Lord of all the worlds and the chief among the leaders of the world.[77] The Lord himself helps the people in the attainment of Buddha-hood through his own vehicle (*Buddha-yānam*)—the best vehicle (*śreshṭha-viśiṣṭha yānam*). The designations—Śrāvakas, Buddhas and Bodhisattvas—are diversions of only one vehicle—the Buddha vehicle.[78] There is only one *nirvāṇa,* not two or three (*ekam na dvai na trīṇi*) which all disciples can attain and become Buddha.[79] The Arhats of the Hīnayānists are compared in this work to middle-sized plants whose growth is stopped after sometime.[80] The glorification of the Buddha the great physician (*mahāvaidya*) is followed by references to Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara,[81] the great redeemer invoked in difficult times, and Mañjuśri. The book shows the culmination of the Mahāyāna school of Buddhism.

Yogāchāras:—The school of Yogāchāras associated with Asaṅga seems to have taken root in this period. The Yogāchāras like the Mādhyamikas, no doubt supported Mahāyānism, but as idealists they denied the real existence of all except Vijñāna or consciousness, and were, therefore, called Vijñānavādins.[82] Aśvaghosha refers to the practice of yoga and arriving at the ultimate truth (*parigamya tatvaṁ*).[83] The Yoga was not to be practised out of season, and by wrong methods, as that might lead to calamity.[84] Solitary meditation—with right attention and right concentration are necessary.[85] According to the *Lalitavistara,*[86] it is to be performed with due reverence with the eyes directed to the tip of the nose.[87] The *Yogāchāra* manual of a later date, translated by Rhys-Davids prescribes the closing of eyes and with the sub-consciousness seeing the tip of the nose, breathing regularly and fixing the object of thought in the heart, as the right method of concentration.[88] The attainment through Yoga, according to Aśvaghosha, immuned a person from age and death.[89] By practising Yoga and arriving at the ultimate truth, the person so doing remains unamazed at the hour of death.[90] The Lord asks Nanda to devote his mind to the highest good so long as the favourable moment endures, so long as death does not come to him, and so long as youth permits him to carry out Yoga.[91] Emphasis on

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Yoga was stressed in this period. It was a discipline which had shaped itself, but it reached its culmination in the time of Asaṅga.

Mādhyamikas:—This school which claimed Nāgārjuna and his pupil Āryadeva was a subdivision of Mahāyānism. Its adherents followed the middle doctrine—neither positive nor negative but relative. The *Mādhyamikākārika* of Nāgārjuna presents in a systamatic manner the doctrine of voidness, connected with Mahāyānism. It is quite likely that he may have written other works. Some scholars make him the author of the *Prajñāpāramitā*. The commentary on it known as *Mahā-Prajñā-Pāramitā-Sāstra* is generally accepted as his work.[92] There is also ascribed to him a work called the *Suhrillekhā* or friendly letter, a compendium of Buddhist doctrines, addressed to an Indian king, probably some Sātavahāna ruler.[93]

Monastic Organization:—Considering the different schools of Buddhism on the basis of the inscriptions and the data from the literature, we might now notice briefly the organization and working of the Buddhist monasteries. These are given names in the records, At Mathurā itself there were atleast three or four Vihāras including the one of Huvishka. Kanishka's Vihāra at Shahji-ki-dheri near Peshawar, Vagra—marega at Wardhak in Afghanistan were of the Sarvāstivādins and the Mahāsāṅghikas respectively. Some idea of the working of the monastery and its members is given in literature. The arriving and departing priests—known as *āgantuka* and *gāmika* in the *Divyāvadāna*[94] suggest that they were not permanently attached to one centre. A Master of the Vinaya was known as *Vinayadhara,*[95] and an expert in the contents of the philosophical parts of the canonical books in the Abhidhamma was called *Mātrikādhara.* Rules of address (*bhoshkāra*)[96] were to be followed. Instructions were confined to religious talk *(parikathā).*[97] There were different grades of disciples—a layhearer was *śrāvaka,*[98] while a great disciple was called *mahāśrāvaka.*[99] The *Mahāvastu* refers to chief female disciple (*agra-śrāvikā*)[100] Besides these, there were *bhikshu, bhikshuṇī, upāsaka* and *upāsikā*[101]—the last two were only lay devotees.[102] There is a mention of observance of rules of discipline.[103] The monastery bell *(gaṇḍi)*[104] was used at the mealtime and for calling scattered members. Emphasis was laid on the dignity of labour. The *Avadānaśataka*[105] relates the story of the Buddha delivering the sermon while cleaning the monastery with a broom. The same spirit was expected to continue in this period as well. Agiśala the *navakarmika*—the chief of the architects—in Kanishka's Vihara calls himself *dāsa*—not a slave definitely.

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Buddhism as a religion was not confined to the disciplined monks who had renounced the world. It had no doubt split itself into several schools—out of the two main ones—the conservative and the progressive. Buddhism owed much to *Bhagavadgītā* for the Bhakti element which one notices in the Mahāyāna literature, especially *Saddharma Puṇḍrīka*. Even parallel stanzas and verses can be cited with the same feeling of devotion running towards the Tathāgata, as one finds in the *Gītā*. Buddhism under the Kushāṇas covering a period of more than a century and a half was a progressive and living force of which the activities extended in the field of religion and art.

Jainism:—Jainism and Jain religious organizations divided into *gaṇas* and *śākhās* with their teachers, lay disciples (*śraddhāchara*) both male and female, and monks and nuns—figure prominently in the records found at Kaṅkālī Tīlā in Mathurā in the last quarter of the last century. Images of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras and tablets of homage on which these inscriptions are recorded and traces of Jain monuments, reveal the importance of Mathurā as a strong centre of this Śramana religion. This was so not only in the Kushāṇa period, but even in the period preceding, as well as following. The Lucknow Museum inscription of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja records the setting up of the image of the Jain Arhat by donors whose names suggest their foreign origin. If the story in the *Kalakāchārya-Kathānaka* is believed, Vikrama was also converted to Jainism by Siddhasena. Franklin Edgerton[106] considers it a wishful thinking and a familier trick not uncommon among the Buddhists and the Jains. However, this aspect of Jainism—convertion and assimilation of others including the foreigners deserves consideration. The study of the data from these records from Mathura, was first made by Bühler, in his essay—*Uber-die-Indische Secte de Jaina,* translated by Burgress in 1904, and later on by Mehta in his *A History of Jainism in Northern India*. With in the last three decades some additional matter has been unearthed, necessitating consideration of the entire subject afresh with reference to the statues of different Tiirthankaras and their consecration and association with different gaṇas and śākhās, other objects of dedication, division into different gaṇas and kulas; the role of women in the Jain ecclesiastical affairs as lay devotees and as nuns, and finally foreigners and Jainism.

Dedication of Statues of Different Tīrthaṅkaras:—Among the records of dedications of statues of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, half a dozen dated ones are associated with the last Tīrthaṅkara Mahāvīra; two refer to the setting up of fourfold *(Sarvatobhadra Pratimā)* and one each mention the setting up of statues of Śāntinātha, Śaṁbhanātha,

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Ṛishabhanātha, and Nandyavarta. The earliest image of Tīrthankara Vardhamāna is dated[107] in the year 5 of the Kushāṇa era, for the Koṭṭiyagaṇa and the Brahma dāsika kula. Two other statues of the last Tīrthaṅkara were also set up for this gaṇa and the Sthānīya kula in the year 20 and 35[108] respectively of the Kushāṇa era. The last three statues of Vardhamāna were meant for the Vāraṇa gaṇa and Petravāmika and Pushyamitrīya kulas. These were set up in the year 22,[109] 29[110] and 50[111] of the Kushāṇa era. It appears that several gaṇas were associated with the setting up of the images of Tīrthankara Mahāvira. The donors were mostly pious female devotees. The same gaṇas are also associated with the setting up of images of other Tīrthaṅkaras, and sometimes the donor is the same, as for example Dattā dedicated an image of Rishabha[112] in the year 60, and earlier in the year 49[113] she had set up an image of Arhat Nandivarta at the Vodya (?) *thūpa (stūpa)* at the request of the Āya-Vridhahasti (Arya Vridhahastin) who was associated with the Koṭṭiya (Kauṭṭika gaṇa) and the Vaira Śākhā. Vasulā is the other lady associated with two records with dates 15[114] and86,[115] there by suggesting that there must have been two different ladies of this name. A statue of Sarasvatī[116] was consecrated by the smith (*lohakāra*) at the instance of the preacher (*vāchaka*) Āryadeva of the Koṭṭiya gana, the Sthanīya kula in the year of 54 of the Kushāṇa era. Mittrā wife of Haggudeva (Phalgudeva), and daughter-in-law of the iron monger (*lohavaṇiya*)20.[117] Vādhara set up an image of same Tīrthaṅkara in the year.

Besides these dated records mentioning the names of Tīrthaṅkaras, and also of Sarasvatī whose statues were set up by members of different Jain ganas, there are scores of records referring to the setting up of statues of Jain Arhats whose names are not mentioned, tablets of homage (*āyagapaṭas*), stones, slabs and pillars Literature and epigraphic evidences are available on the question of the antiquity of Jain image consecration. The famous *Hāthigumphā* inscription[118] refers to the installation of an image of Rishabhadeva which was removed earlier by the Nanda king. That might be the earliest epigraphic evidence. Kauṭilya refers to images of Jain gods[119]—Jayanta, Vaijayanta Aparājita and others. The antiquity of Jain image worship can be pushed back to the fourth century B.C. We do not find references to the statues of all the Tīrthaṅkaras in the records of the Kushāṇa period. Pārśva is distinguished from other Tīrthaṅkaras, by a canopy of snakehood over his head.

In the setting up of the statues, the lay devotees had the main hand, though they did it at the instance of some preacher. The

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records of the donors include men and women belonging to the profession or group which were classed as low. There are references to families or professions of iron mongers[120] (*lohakāra*) and others[121] like those of carpenters *(vardhakin)*, perfumers *(gāndhika)* and even courtesans (*gaṇikā*). In this connection it would be interesting to refers to *Uttarādhyana sūtra* (12. 1) mentioning Saint Hariesábala hailing from a chāṇḍāla family. Family and nature were not considered in matters of dedications and donations, and men of low birth could even aspire for high posts through their intellectual attainments. The statues were naturally set up in some temple. In this connection two inscriptions are important—one dated in the year 299 of some Mahārāja Rājātirāja[122] recording the setting up of an image of the Arhat Mahāvīra in the temple of the Arhats (*Arahatāyatana)*, and of shrine (devakula) by donors Ujhatikā, Okhrikā and Okhā—names rather uncommon. The other inscription[123] is more interesting recording the setting up of a shrine *(devakula)* of the Arhat (Arhat), Vardhamāna an *āyāgasabhā* (an hall of homage), a reservoir (*prapā*) and stone slabs (*śilāpatā*) in the Arhat temple *(Arahatāyatana)* of the Niganṭhas (Nigranthas) by the lay-disciple of the ascetics (*samanasāvikā*) the Naḍā courtesan (*gaṇikā*) Vasu, daughter of the Adā courtesan (gaṇikā) Loṇaśobhikā (*lavanaśobhikā)* together with some of her relatives for the worship of the Arhat *(arhats)*. These records suggest that temples also served as residential orders for Jain ascetics. Besides the main shrine *(devakula)*, a hall of homage *(āvāgasabhā)*, reservoir *(prapā)*, and stone slabs *(śilāpaṭa)* for decorative purposes were included in the temple.

There are numerous records relating to the tablets of homage *(āyāgapatas)*. In these one finds in the centre, the Yogī type of the seated Jina, the highly ornamented *triśūlas* and a variety of sacred symbols, and massive pillar cut on stone. The earliest dated tablet of homage was set up by Amohinī in the year 42 of the Lord, the Mahākshatrapa Śodāsa.[124] One tablet gives an interesting view of a Jain stūpa surrounded by a circumabulatory path and enclosed with a railing, its approach being through a decorated gateway *(torana)*. A dancing girl appears on each side. This was set up by Śivavaśā,[125] wife of a donor. The āyāgapatas were set up for the worship of all Arhats invoking their blessings.[126]

The Jains also raised stūpas, like the Buddhists, over the ashes of a chief or religious leader surrounded as usual by railings. A record of Dinā, dated in the year 49,[127] refers to the setting up of an image of the Arhat Nāndiavarta (Nandvavarta) at the vodva (?) *thūpa (stūpa)* by the female lay-worshipper *(śrāvikā) Dinā*. The stupa is also noticed in the tablet of homage set up by Śivasiyā.

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Archaeological[128] evidence has also testified to the existence of such a stūpa at Kankali Tila in Mathurā.

The numerous items of dedications—setting up of statues of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, tablets of homage and stūpa were parts of the activities of the Jains in Mathurā in which the lay devotees—high and low, male and female—catered to the wishes of the Jain preceptors belonging to the different schools. These schools or orders were organized on some basis—doctrinal or preceptor wise. The Tīrthaṅkaras enjoyed the respect and adoration of all the schools. The evidence furnished by inscriptions relating to the *gaṇas*, their kulas and śākhās is corroborated from the *Kalpsūtra*.

Classification of Jain religious orders—Four *gaṇas* or schools along with their *kulas* and *sākhās* are mentioned in the records from Mathurā, although the *Kalpasūtra* mentions nine (*ñavagaṇa*).[129] The three prominent ones are *Koṭṭka*, *Vāraṇa* or *Chāraṇa* and *Ārya-udekīya*. The fourth one *Vesavadīya* is implied with reference to its *kulas* mentioned in some records. The large number of endowments in different forms were made for this *gaṇa*. Its earliest record is dated in the year 5[130] of Devaputra Kanishka. The different *kulas* associated with it were *Brahmadāsika*, *Thānīya* (*Sthānīya*), *Vacchaliya* and *Prabahaka* (*Prasnavāhanaka*) and the corresponding *śākhās* for the first three were *Uchenāgarī*, *Āryaverī* or *Vairī*, and *Majhmā*. The heads of this were Aryya-Puśila (Ārya-Pushyala) in the year [131] 12 Vrihatavāchaka Ja-mitra in the year[132] 20, and Maghahasti in the years[133] 52 54, and Ārya Kharṇṇa in the 60.[134] The successor seems to have been nominated by his predecessor. The *Kalpasūtra* mentioning Sushthita and Supratibuddha, surnamed Kautika and Kākandaka as its founders.[135] It was divided into *Uchenāgarī*, *Vidyādharī*, *Vajrī* and *Madhyamikā*, *śākhās* and *Brahmaliptaka*, *Vatsalīya* (*pr Vacchalijja*), *Vaniya* (*pr Vanijja*) and *Prasnavāhanaka kulas*. This school continued to exist in the Gupta period. It is mentioned in a record dated in the year 113[136] of the Gupta era, referring to the setting up of an image by Śyāmādhyā under instructions from Datilacharya of the Kottiyagana and the Vidyādharī Śākhā. According to Buhler the name of this gaṇa survived till the fourteenth century A.D.

The next gana is the *Chāraṇa* or *Vārana* of the *Kalpasūtra* with its numerous *kulas* and *śākhas*. Its earliest record is[137] dated in the year 29 with Ārya-Data (Arya Datta) as its head (*gaṇin*). In the year 50[138] (or 70), its great preacher (*bahat (brihat) vāchaka*) was Dinara. According to the *Kalpasūtra*,[139] the *Chārana-Vārana* was divided into four *Śākhās* and seven *Kulas*. The *Kulas* were *Vatsalīya* (Pr. *Vakkhalijja*), *Prītidharmika*, *Haridraka*, (Pr. *Halijja*), *Pushyamitrika*, *Malayaka* (Pr. *Malijja*), Ārya Chedaya, and *Kana-*

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hasaka. The four Śākhās associated with this *Gaṇa,* according to the *Kalpasūtra* were *Samkaśika, Vajjanāgarī, Gavedhuka* and *Hiranyamālāgarī.* Comparing the list of the *Kulas* from the *Kalpasūtra* with those mentioned in the inscriptions, Pushyamitrīya can be identified with *Pushyamitrikā-Pushamitijjā, Āryachetaya* with *Āryachedaya, Kanijasika* with *Kanahasaka, Petivāmika* with *Pritidharmikā,* and *Aya Hattiya* with *Haridrakam,* as the Sākhās of both are identical. Ayabhista and Nāḍika Kulas are left out. The *Chāraṇa gaṇa* was founded by Śrigupta of the Hāritagotra.[140]

The next *gaṇa* is the *Āryaudekīya.* In the year 7,[141] Buddhaśri was the head of the *Nāgabhūtikīya* kula in this gaṇa. This *kula* is evidently identical with the Nāgaghūyakula of the *Uddehagaṇa.* The other record dated in the year 90[142] mentions the name of the head Devadatta who belonged to the *Dehikīya-Uddeha gaṇa.* This *gaṇa* was founded by Ārya Rohaṇa of the *Kāśyapa gotra,*[143] and it was divided into four *śākhās* and six *kulas.* The epigraphic records mention two *kulas* of this gana—the *Nāgabhūta* and *Paridhāsika* which may be identical with the Nāgabhūta and *Parihāsika kulas* of the *Kalpasūtra.* The solitary *śakhā* mentioned in the second record-*Petaputrikā* is identical with the *Pūrṇapatrika* (Pr. *Punnapattiyā)* of the *Kalpasūtra.*

The last gaṇa mentioned in a record dated in the year 15[144] mentions *Mehikakula* which, according to the *Kalpasūtra,* was one of the four kulas of the *Vesvādiya gaṇa,* founded by Kāmarahi[145] of the *Kuṇḍala gotra.* It had four *śakhās.*

In the organization of the Jain religious orders, the heads or *gaṇins* naturally played the most important part, as *vrihatvāchakas* or preachers. It seems that they were selected by their predecessors on the basis of their intellectual attainments. Birth in a low family was not taken into account. In the Vinaya of the *Kalpasūtra* there is reference to the search for the worthy disciple by Jambusvāmin, and the choice fell on Sayyambhaṭṭa of Rājagriha who was given *dīkshā.* Among the preachers, those whose names appear in more than one record are Ārya Baladina,[146]Ārya-Deva,[147] and Ārya-Ksheraka.[148] Mihila[149] and Nāgadatta[150] figure in more than one records as monks (*Śishya*).

Role of women: The role of women as nuns *(śishyinī)* or lay devotees *(śraddhācharī)* was no less important. The latter had not renounced their homes, but were firm in their religion. They created endowments and pursuaded others to do so. There are many references to Jain nuns. The heads of schools had female disciples who received religious instructions. An earlier reference to a *srāvikā* Okhā is in the Lucknow Museum inscription of the year

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292,[151] followed by Amohinī in her tablet inscription. These two records are pre-Kushāṇa. Those of the Kushāṇa period mention-Kumāramitrā,[152] Vasulā,[153] Sañgamikā, Jinadāsī,[154] Balavarmā,[155] Devā,[156] Saditā was a female disciple mentioned in another record.[157] Women members of religious orders contributed much in the propagation of their religion. There is no reference to a female preacher in the records. As nuns and lay devotees they shared their responsibilities.

Foreign elements in Jainism: The Lucknow Museum inscription dated in the year 292 appears to be the solitary record throwing light on the question of foreign element in Jainism. Luders considered[158] the donors of this record to be foreigners who were converted to Jainism. Okharikā and Ujhatikā are not Indian names, and Dimitra is the Indianised form of Demetrius. He presumed that they were Parthians who had immigrated during the reign of the Kshatrapas, and upheld the traditions of their country by dating their record in Parthian era of 247 B.C. The inscriptions from Kankālī Tīlā also mention some unfamiliar names like Akakā[159] and Oghā.[160] It is therefore not surprising that some foreigners might have accepted Jainism.

On the basis of the evidence it can be easily presumed that the *Chāturvarnin saṅgha,* consisting of monks, nuns, lay disciples—both male and female ones—was under a head or *gaṇin.* Atleast four of the *gaṇas* out of nine mentioned in the *Kalpasūtra* are noticed in the records with their respective *śākhas.* Mathurā continued to be an important centre of Jains.

Nāga worshippers: Numerous inscriptions recorded on Nāga statues in human form with a canopy of snakehood, or on slabs mention the prevailing conception of Nāga or serpent worship, a totemistic feature in the religious life of the people in this period. Several names of donors with Nāga prefix or suffix, as for example, Nāgadata, Nāgabhaṭa, Nāgasena Gaṇapatināga, are noticed in the records, but it is difficult to suggest if names could be an indication of their association with this particular cult. Nāga worshippers were different from the Nāga families, like those of Padmāvatī and Mathurā. The earliest record[161] connected with Nāga worship is dated in the year 8 recorded on a figure of a Nāga canopied with a sevenfold serpend hood, and attended by two Nāgas of smaller size. The Nāga is named Svāmī Nāga. A local serpent deity—named Dadhi Karaṇa—is mentioned in two records.[162] Possibly he was worshipped in a temple, with which Devikā of the second record was associated. The life size Chargaon Nāga statue[163] (ht. 7′ 8″) with snakehood and tenon records its setting up by the two brothers Senahastin and

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Bhonuka in the year 40, with a prayer that the lord Nāga be pleased. It continued to be worshipped by the local villagers for centuries as an effigy of Balarāma, before its removal to the Mathurā Museum.

Another Nāga statue[164] (ht. 9′ 4″) shown standing with his right hand raised to the shoulder and the left holding a vessel, is canopied by a hood of seven snake heads. The attitude and dress of this Naga is similar to that of Bodhisattva. It is dated in the year 52. There are several other inscribed images of Nāgas and a few uninscribed ones as well. The inscription[165] of a lady named Sivamitrā, of the Kauśika family is interesting. The lady invokes the help of a black serpent for destroying the Poṭhayas and Śakas.

Object & Purpose of dedication. The records connected with Nāga worship reveal that besides Nāga statues and slabs, tanks (taḍāga) and garden (ārāma) were also set apart for the Nāgas; who are naturally associated with water and the underground region as their place of habitation. In the *Mahāvastu,*[166] the king of the Nāgas is closely associated with Varuṇa, the lord of the water. Gardens provide solitary retreat for the moving creatures when they come out unnoticed. The snakes are supposed to be the guardians of treasures buried underground. According to Varāhamihira, the snakes of the lineage of Takshaka and Vāsuki, and the snakes roaming at will, have bright, blue-tinged pearls in their hoods. These were propitiated so that they could confer boons and part with the treasures of which they were the guardians. Their help could also be invoked for destroying the enemies of the propitiator. Dedication of objects and tanks and gardens was meant to propitiate them. This popular conception could be traced to much earlier times. Serpent worship extended over a wide region. According to Maxmüller,[167] there can be no doubt that the belief in the serpents had its origin in the Vedas. The idea of pacifying them is thoroughly Aryan. Eliot Smith[168] thought it originated in Egypt about 800 B.C., and was spread thence to India. It was not only known but prevalent during the period of *Atharvaveda*[169] which contains numerous charms against serpents and a rite of propitiation is prescribed on the full moon day of the month of *Mārahaśīrsha.* The invocations of the serpents for boons relating to wealth, progeny, and for destroying the enemies made it very popular with the people professing Brahmanism and Buddhism.

Nāgas and Brahmanism: The invocation of the Nāgas found a place in Brahmanism—Balarāma with his *hala* was introduced in the Brahmanical iconography[170] to replace the Nāga who, as lord of water and procurer of rain, had great utility for the agriculturists. The Chhargaon Nāga statue was actually worshipped as the

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statue of Balarāma. Baladeva is also mentioned as a Nāgarāja in the *Māhauyutapatti.*[171] At the other end, attempt was also made to dominate the Nāgas by Brahmanical deities. This led to the introduction of legendary tales of Krishṇa killing the Kaliya Nāga, the lord of the waters of the Yamunā, and Vishṇu sleeping on the bed of Śeshanāga under the canopy of its hood. The Nāgas came to be looked down upon as inferior popular deities. Serpents also came to be associated with the liṅga of Śiva.

Nāgas and Buddhism: The subduing of Nāgaurvilva,[172] worshipping of the Buddha by king Elapatra,[173] and others are commonly mentioned in literature and illustrated in art. A Bas-relief in the Peshawar Museum shows king Elapatra visiting the Buddha in the Deer Park with a five-headed snake in front of the seat on which the Buddha is seated in the midst of his congregation.[174] In Mathurā art, the Nāgas in human form are depicted exactly like Bodhisattva with the polycephalous serpent over the head of the former as a distinguishing feature. The Amrāvatī medallion, now in the British Museum, shows a Nāga King with the hood at the back worshipping a relic casket.[175]

Nāgas and Jainism: Nāga or serpent is associated with the Tīrthaṅkar Pārśvanātha. One bas-relief containing an inscription dated in the year 99, illustrates a seven hooded snake forming a canopy over the head of the Jain Tīrthaṅkar Pārśvanātha.[176] and a Nāga king standing in the attitude of supplication. This probably suggests that the Nāgas were also worshippers of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras. It can as well be presumed that the different religions tried to assimilate this popular cult and tried to demonstrate their superiority over the Nāgas.

The worship of the Nāgas in human form continued in the Kushāṇa period. Inscriptions, art and literature have much evidence to offer on the antiquity and popularity of this ancient cult. The *Lalitavistara*[177] refers to the invocation of Nāgādhipati by the seafaring merchants. The same work also refers to fears from the Nāgas (*Nāgasaṁkshobhaya*).[178] As lords of treasures, magic gems and spells rewarding the virtuous with bountry, they were propitiated by the masses. In the *Kathāsaritasāgara* there is a reference to a wonderful lute given by Nāga Vasuneni to king Udayana.[179] If their anger was aroused they could send down destructive hail storms.[180] The Nāgas continued to be propitiated, but attempts were made to subordinate them to their own deities by the Brahmins, Buddhists and the Jains. The Nāga worshippers are distinguished from the Nāga families which figure prominently between the Kushāṇas and the Guptas.

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Other minor religious orders: Epigraphic evidence is silent regarding the existence of other religious orders, although the literature notices Ājīvikas, Lokāyatikas, Chāravākas, Parivrājakas Śivakas and Jambukas. The Ājīvikas are mentioned early in Aśokan inscription in the 3rd century B.C. The *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*[181] enjoins Bodhisattva Mañjuśri not to wait upon persons of other sects including Chāravākas, Parivrājakas, Ājīvikas and Nigranthas. The Ājivikas are noticed in the *Lalitavistara*[182] as well. In the *Divyāvadāna*[183] there is a reference to the Ājivikas in Puṇḍravardhana, and in this context the world *dināra* also occurs. As Barua points out,[184] two questions of far-reaching importance have to be considered—the history of the Ājīvikas who retained their existence till the fourteenth century A.D., and the influence of the Ājīvika' system upon those orders which supplanted or supplemented it.

The materialists—Lokāyatikas and Chāravākas—are also mentioned in literature. The former knew by heart the mystic *mantras.*[185] Their philosophy is also mentioned in the *Milindapañha*[186] as a subject of study. King Milinda is described as fond of worldly disputations and in the habit of wrangling against the quibbles of Lokāyatikas and Vitaṇḍas.[187] The two systems are identified by Buddhaghosha.[188] In the *Sarvadarśana-saṁgraha*[189] of Mādhavachārya (14th cent. A.D.), the preponderance of materialism is represented by Chāravāka. Lokāyata is considered as a branch of study aligned with cosmogomy, stars and other astronomical[190] data. The Lokāyatikas are also mentioned by Manu, in theAmarakośa, and by Kumārila.

The Chāravakas also figure in the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka* and the *Lalitavistara.*[191] Evidently synonymous with the Lokāyata system. the two denied the existence of the other world, looking upon death as an end in itself. The *Lalitavistara* refers to the philosophy of Brihaspati as a subject of study, but a Bārhaspatya was looked down as an infidel. Chāravāka was the general term for the epicureans. The Lokāyatikas were distinguished for their stress on corporal organs constituting the soul.

Śivakas-Lakulīśas & Pāśupatas: D. R. Bhandarkar, editing the Mathurā Pillar inscription[192] of G. E. 61, discussed the history of the Lakulīśa sect founded by Lakuli whom he placed in the first quarter of the second century A.D. Uditāchārya, the donor of two images, was the Maheśvara teacher, tenth in descent from Küśika, pupil of Lakuli. The latter, according to the Purāṇas, was the originator of certain austerities and religious practices called the Pāśupata or Mahiśvara yoga. This Gupta record thus throws light on the existence of a certain school in the Kushāṇa period—which be-

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lieved in certain religious practices. The *Milindapañha* refers to Śivakas while archaeological finds include the Śiva liṅga from Gigla (Mathura district). The inscription,[193] on palaeographic grounds of the second century A.D. records the dedication of a Śiva liṅga, representing the particular local deity-Satīśvara. Like the Mathurā Śaiva pillar inscription, it also mentions the Iśvarānta name. It appears that the Liṅga worshippers, associated with the cult of Lakulīśa. formed an order of their own-believing in the performance of austerities.

We have discussed at length the religious condition of northern India under the Kushāṇas. The Kushāṇa monarches were themselves conscious of the unity of all religions, as is evident from their depicting divinities of different pantheons. Toleration and broadmindedness did not stand in the way of their personal religious leanings culminating in their final assimilation in Hinduism. It is wrong to presume that Brahmanism received any set back in this period. Actually it was a living force—the performance of sacrifices and the recognition of Brahmanical hierarchy were recognised and practised. We have referred to both these aspects intimately connected with Brahmanism. Buddhism was equally flourishing with a trend towards progressive ideals. The different schools of Buddhism—Sarvāstivādins and Dharmaguptikas of the Sthaviravādin sect, and Mahāsaṅghikas of the sessionists had their strong centre both in Mathurā and the North-west. Disputations between the conservative and progressive schools was not an unusual feature. The Jains too were fairly active with their *gaṇas*, *kulas* and *śākhas*. The largest number of Jain religious records are indicative of the prosperity and popularity of this religious order and its members. The ladies contributed their share in dedications. The popular cult of snake worshippers is noticed in several records. The Nāgas are given human forms in sculptures, distinguished from the Bodhisattvas by the hood of snakeheads. All the three important religions —Brahmanism, Buddhism and Jainism—tried to assimilate this cult, and also to subordinate the Nagas to their respective divinities The Nāgas, however, continued to be propitiated as lords of treasures, capable of conferring boons and destroying the enemies of the propitiator. Lastly, some minor religious orders—not noticed in inscriptions, but mentioned in literature, are also considered, like those of Ājīvikas, the Hindu materialists, the Brahmanical Śivakas and the Lakulīśas. On the whole, the religious condition was one of understanding, toleration and broadmindedness.

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1. JBBRAS. XX, pp. 356 ff.
2. *The Age of the Imperial Guptas*, p. 112.
3. *Volume of Eastern and Indian Studies*, pp. 29-30.
4. Vogel: *Catalogue Mathura Museum*, No. Q 13.

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5. IX. 6.43.
6. EI. XXIII. pp. 245 ff.
7. EI. XIX.
8. IA. LVIII, p. 53.
9. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, pp. 59 ff.
10. ibid, 1904-5, p. 120.
11. EI. XXI. pp. 55 ff.
12. JRAS. 1924, No. 3, p. 397.
13. Luder's List No. 10.
14. p. 620.14.
15. Vol. II, p. 91.
16. ibid I, p. 245.
17. VII. p. 120.
18. *Śatapatha* II. 1.3.1.
19. XIII. 334.
20. IX. 112.3.
21. The identity of Nana with the Mother Goddess Ambā was suggested by me—more than twenty years back (I.C. VIII. pp. 225 ff).
22. I. 37-38.
23. *Div.* 587.19; *Mah.* I. p. 245; *Lalit.* VIII. p. 120.
24. Suzuki—*The Awakening of Truth,* p. 23.
25. p. 137.
26. XVIII. 59.
27. XIII. p. 71; XXXVI, p. 195; *Lalit.* VIII. 120.
28. p. 587.13.
29. Carmichael Lectures, p. 23.
30. V. 3.99, p. 429 (Kielhorn, ed.).
31. *Vaishnavism* and *Saivism,* p. 151.
32. *Lalit.* VIII p. 120; *Mah.* I p. 245.
33. The comment on the *Sūtra Jivikārthe chāpaṇye* questions the validity of the dropping of *ka* in such forms as *Śivaḥ, Skandaḥ* and *Viśākhaḥ.* Since the Mauryas, desirous of obtaining gold, sold objects of worship (*hiraṇyārthibhir archaḥ prakalpitaḥ*). According to the Bhāshyakāra, these gods were not mentioned in pairs in Vedic literature, but only in loka (*lokavedayor yo dvandyas tatra yathā syāt*). It is clear that they were earlier than the time of Patañjali: (*India in the time of Patañjali,* p. 182).
34. *Lalit.* V. p. 39; VIII p. 120.
35. Rv. V. 5.85.
36. XIII. p. 71.10.
37. *Lalit.* V. p. 39.
38. For images of Brahmanical deities see—Vogel—*Cat. Mat. Mus.* pp. 94-106; V.S. Agarwal; *Cat. Mat. Mus.* in JUPHS 1949, pp. 102-210. The references here are those of the label numbers, given in the Catalogue, or otherwise supplied by the Ex-Curator Prof. K.D. Bajpai, now of the Sagar University, from the acquisition register. A fuller treatment of the images of Brahmanical divinities is reserved for the chapter on Art & Architecture.
39. P. 134.24.
40. CII. II(i) pp. 30 ff.
41. JRAS 1932, pp. 949 ff.
42. CII. II(i) pp. 135 ff.
43. ibid. p. 142.
44. ibid. p. 155.
45. ibid.
46. EI. VIII. p. 180.
47. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-7, pp. 96 ff.
48. ibid, 1904-5, p. 68.
49. ibid, 1909-10, p. 66.
50. Vogel. Cat. No. A 66.
51. CII. II(i), pp. 165 ff.
52. JUPHS. July 1939, No. XIII, p. 23.
53. ibid, No. XI, p. 22.
54. ibid, No. XII, p. 23.

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55. EI. XIX, p. 69, No. 9.
56. Proc. Ind. Hist. Con. (Hyderabad), p. 163.
57. JUPHS. July 1939, p. 24, No. XIV.
58. *Mah.* III. p. 461.
59. Johnston: *Budd. Car. Intro.* p. xxiv.
60. *Saun.* XII. 16.
61. IV. 60.
62. VII. p. 91.15.
63. *Intro.* p. XXXV.
64. *Saun.* V. 33.
65. Rockhill: *Life of the Buddha*, pp. 190 ff.
66. Przyluski: JA. 1914. II. pp. 493 ff.
67. Chap. XII.
68. *Hinduism* and *Buddhism*, II. p. 80.
69. pp. 95, 127, 490.
70. p. 473.
71. VII. p. 913.5.
72. Vol. I, p. 177 ff of Kern. *Manual of Buddhism*, p. 67.
73. EI. XIX, p. 69, No. VII.
74. CII. II(i), pp. 165 ff.
75. Lüders List No. 1105, 1106.
76. ERE. VIII. p. 331.
77. IV. 60.
78. *Sadh. Pun.* V. 32.
79. ibid, V. 44.
80. ibid, V. 39.
81. Vol. I, Chap. XXIV.
82. Kern. Op. Cit. p. 120.
83. *Saun.* V. 32.
84. ibid V. 39.
85. ibid XV. 33.
86. VII. p. 91.9.
87. ibid. XIV, p. 191.15.
88. p. XI, 243.
89. *Budd. Char.* XII. 106.
90. *Saun.* V. 32.
91. ibid V. 47.
92. Eliot. Op. Cit. II, p. 85.
93. Winternitiz: *History of Indian Literature*, II. p. 347.
94. *Div.* p. 50.28; cf. *Ang. Nik.* I. 10; *Vin.*I.32.
95. *Div.* p. 21.17.
96. ibid. p. 485.7.
97. ibid. p. 429.3.
98. ibid. p. 612.1.
99. ibid. p. 489.11.
100. Vol. I. p. 289.19.
101. *Div.* p. 613.27.
102. *Mil.* p. 383; cf. *Dīgha.* II. 105; *Vin.* I. 18.
103. Div. p. 465.4.
104. AS. II. p. 95.
105. No. XXXVIII.
106. *Vikrama Adventures*—Introduction.
107. EI. I. p. 381, No. I.
108. ibid p. 395, No. 27; p. 385, No. 7.
109. ibid p. 391, No. 20.
110. ibid p. 385, No. 6.
111. EI. II. p. 209, No. 36.
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113. EI. II. p. 204, No. 20.
114. EI. II. p. 262, No. 13.
115. EI. I. p. 388, No. 12.
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134. EI. I. p. 386, No. 8.
135. VIII. p. 231.
136. EI. II. p. 210.
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150. ibid Nos. 469, 558.
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153. ibid. Nos. 24, 70.
154. ibid. No. 50.
155. ibid. No. 48.
156. ibid. Nos. 28, 47.
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160. ibid. Nos. 29, 43.
161. EI. XVII. p. 10.
162. EI. I. p. 390, No. 18; IX. p. 243.
163. Vogel: Cat. Mat. Mus. No. C. 14, p. 88.
164. ibid. No. C. 16, p. 90.
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167. *Contribution to the Science of Mythology*, pp. 595.
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170. Rao: *Hindu Iconography*. Vol. I. p. 134.
171. Minayeff. p. 48.
172. Mah. III. p. 428.
173. Div. p. 61.
174. Foucher: *L'art Gracco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra* II. frag. 224-7.
175. Fergusson *History of Indian & Eastern Art*. P. LXII.
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180. JRAS. 1901, p. 461.
181. p. 278.3.
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183. p. 427.
184. Journal Department of Letters. Vol. II. pp. 1 ff.; See also A.L. Basham: *The History of the Ajīvikas.*
185. *Sadh. Pun.* p. 276.5.
186. 186. p. 10.
187. ibid p. 4.
188. *Sumangala Vilāsinī* I. 247.
189. ERE. VIII. p. 138.
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CHAPTER X

LITERATURE

The literature of this period under study is described as Sanskrit Buddhist literature. It is Sanskrit in language and Buddhist in theme. The doctrines and relics of old Pali canonical literature take a new turn towards a liberal and healthier outlook of Buddhism. The divine status accorded to the Lord, in whom alone the devotee could find a panacea for his sufferings, and the enrichment of the Buddhist Pantheon with a galaxy of countless myriads of Bodhisattvas endowed with perfections (*Pāramitās*) and destined for enlightenment, are some of the new trends in Buddhism. Literature in Sanskrit is only an attempt to depict this new outlook in a faithful manner. The popular side of Buddhism, characterised by the new Buddhist ideal and the worship of the Lord, makes it more in line with the feeling of Bhakti or devotion as one finds in the *Bhagavadgītā*. The Sanskrit Buddhist literature more or less aimed at popularising the new trend in Buddhism with particular reference to the life of the Buddha and legends and characters associated with him. The *Sāriputraprakaraṇa*, the solitary drama of Aśvaghosha was written in this spirit, as also his *Buddhacharita* and *Saundarananda*. Unfortunately, it is difficult to fix the age of different works from a chronological point of view. There are bound to be overlappings and it is only on the basis of the translations of these works in Chinese, and the cultural data which we have already considered in earlier chapters, that we suggest their approximate date.

Aśvaghosha and his works: The deplorable darkness enveloping early India, and rendering it impossible to establish with certainty the date of Aśvaghosha, as presumed by Keith,[1] seems to have cleared a bit with the find of the *Śāriputraprakaraṇa*. This drama, according to Luders,[2] belongs on palaeographic grounds to the times of the Kushāṇas—probably to the reign of Kaṇishka or Huvishka. This view is further supported by the marginal corrections supposed to have been made by a Central Asian hand in the late Kushāṇa era. The overwriting in letters was made on a manuscript which showed signs of being long in use. The translation of *Buddhacharita*[3] of Aśvaghosha in Chinese in the fifth century A.D., however, fixes the lower limit for the work and its author, and the upper limit may be settled a few hundred years earlier. In this connection Johnston[4] suggested two minor points bringing out semblance between a line from Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita* and another

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from the commentary or *Nāmasaṁgiti* which has preserved a line from Mātricheta, with a view to showing that the reign of Kaṇishka should be taken as a lower limit for determining the age of Aśvaghosha. The play on verbal tricks and cliches precluded the learned author from pressing this piece of evidence. The late Oxford Professor did not accept the information from the Chinese tradition associating Aśvaghosha both with Kanishka and with the composition of the Vibhāsa, the great Sarvāstivādin commentary on the Abhidhamma, the outcome of the fourth Buddhist council held in the time of Kanishka. The internal evidence particularly concerning Aśvaghosha's accomplishments in Brahmanical learning, and the reference to their institutions in a respectful manner is considered inopportune, when the ruling dynasty, according to some scholars,[5] was hostile to the Brahmins. Johnston also doubted the date of Vibhāsa, and the story of the Buddhist council in the time of Kanishka. The date of the poet is, therefore, considered uncertain, except that the lower limit might have been before the 4th century A.D., and the upper one approximately between 50 B.C. and 100 A.D., with a preference for the first century A.D. Thus the poet is supposed to have flourished before the time of Kanishka.

The points raised by Johnston deserve careful attention. Aśvaghosha's attainments and his attitude towards Brahmins in an age supposed to be anti-Brahmanical is neither correct, nor has it any bearing on the date of the poet. We know that Kanishka exhibited his belief in eclecticism by depicting divinities from different Pantheons on his coins, and it was an age of toleration and understanding. Brahmanism was a living force. Aśvaghosha's learning, and his knowledge of medicine and surgery, particularly the data relating to these, as one finds expressed in similies and metaphors in his work, point either to his contemporaneity with Charaka and Suśruta, or he was a slightly posterior to them.[6] The data from the Tibetan and Chinese sources relating to the poet and his associations cannot be brushed aside. Even though the date of the poet be left as an open question, it may not be denied that he figures prominently as a poet and dramatist whose contributions have to be placed in this period.

His Works: The two famous works of the poet, the *Buddhacharita*[7] *and Saundarananda*[8] represent that form of ornate poetry called *Sargabandha or Mahākāvya.* According to the canons of *Kāvyādarśa* of *Daṇḍin*,[9] a good Kāvya should begin with the benediction, or statement on the subject matter: its topics should be based on tradition, or be otherwise real and the end should conform to one of the four aims of man-profit, duty, desire or relief. The character of the hero—clever and noble—should figure prominently in the work which should be ornamented with descriptions of a varied

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nature, manifesting poet's familiarity with different aspects of man's life and temperament, and his oneness with nature. The attractive metres with a change at the close, and the neatness of the transition, coupled with suitable ornamentation of figures, determine the lasting nature of a good Kāvya. Aśvaghosha's two Kāvyas satisfy on all the counts. The poet rightly mentions in the last verse of the last canto of *Saundarananda:* 'since I saw mankind given over to the pleasure of the senses and averse from salvation, I have here told of the final truth under the guise of a Kāvya considering salvation to be supreme: let the reader understand this and study attentively in it that which leads to tranquillity, and not that which is merely pleasurable as only the residue of gold is taken after it has been separated from the metal dust'.

Of the two Kāvyas of Aśvaghosha, the *Buddhacharita* is supposed to be later than the *Saundarananda,*[10] although the former is more important. According to I.-tsing[11] its composition was to relate the Tathagata's chief doctrines and works during his life from the period when he was still in the royal palace till his last hour under the avenue of the Śāla trees. It was widely read or sung throughout the five divisions of India, when the pilgrim came here, and the countries of the southern seas. The work is left in *torso:* there are only fourteen out of twenty-eight cantos in Sanskrit though the Chinese version contained the full. The poet portrays the life of the Lord with devotion and admiration in simple and faultless Sanskrit,[12] is moderate in the use of *alaṁkāras* or embellishments, and in language and style. A well-planned arrangement of the material is in contrast to the disorder in texts like the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara.* The connecting thread in the story is never lost, nor is the patience of the reader. The poet is very particular to avoid unnecessary strain and introduces humour at appropriate places. 'Hearing the news of the arrival of Tathāgata in the city of Kapilavastu, some of the magnificent women in their rush to see their prince were delayed in their movements by the weight of their chariot like hips and full breasts.[13] The poet, nevertheless, compares the lotus faces of the women emerging from the windows like lotuses stuck on the pavilions, and the city appearing as the Paradise with its heavenly mansions full of the apsaras.[14] This description is imitated by Kālidāsa.[15] Aśvaghosha conforms to another principle of *Kāvyādarśa* in his exposition of the *Nītiśāstra* or statecraft. 'Denial of courtesy, in the words of Udāyīn, an expert in the science of worldly conduct, ill-befits one, young in age and beautiful in appearance'.[16] The poet marshalls available illustrations from the past to exhibit his knowledge of social etiquette and statecraft. Ornamentation and embellishment have not been ignored,

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as for example, in the poet's description of the city of Kapilavastu,[17] and the pleasure excursion of the young prince descending at the proper time in full splendour, mounting on a golden chariot, adorned majestically with suitable retinues. It appeared as if the moon with the constellations was mounting to the sky.

The *Buddhacharita* dealing with the broader theme of life ends with the conversions made at Vārāṇasī, as appears in the present text—some addition being made by Amritānanda more than a century ago. It is closer to the *Lalitavistara* in the subject-matter, although it is not certain if the latter was the source for Aśvaghosha's Kāvya. There is the difference in language—the *Lalitavistara* is in the main Sanskrit prose, intermingled with ballads in mixed Sanskrit of what Keith calls,[18] the so-called Gāthā style.' The treatment of the life of the Lord is also different. While the *Lalitavistara* at times is confused, and incoherent in the presentation of details, Aśvaghosha is crisp and his treatment is artistic, lacking that prolixity which one finds in the other work. The poet seems to be at home with the older texts, as for example with the *Rāmāyaṇa* of the Ādikavi Vālamīki. Parallels can be traced in the treatment of Suddhodan'sbemoaning for his son's exit and the chariot returning without the prince, like Daśaratha bereft of Rāma. Chandaka's return to Kapilavastu fits in with Sumanta's return to Ayodhya without Rāma. Yaśodharā's lament for the sufferings of the prince in the new life of hardship is modelled on Sītā's sorrow for her lord's sufferings in the forest. Scholar's have worked on this aspect of Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*.[19] It is clear that Aśvaghosha was indebted to Vālamīki, as Kālidāsa owed much to him, although both stood independent of their predecessors in the approach and treatment of their subject.

Saundaranandā: This long poem by Aśvaghosha, is also connected with the life story of the Buddha, but its main theme is the conversion of the reluctant Nanda—his half-brother, by the Buddha. The story is related in earlier Pāli works.[20] As the poet states emphatically, he wrote it not for the sake of detection but for liberation and to perfect peace. 'This ornate poem was a little honey mixed with the bitter medicine to make it palatable for those whom he wanted to win over to the faith of the Tathāgata'. The poem begins with the usual description of the city of Kapilavastu, followed by its king and a brief account of Sarvārthasiddhi and his half-brother Nanda, the description of the Buddha, and the beginning of the story with Sundarī's beauty and her union with Nanda—the unmatchable human couple whose yearning towards each other knew no bounds. The Śākyan noble's duty towards the Tathāgata who had called on him, and his attachment to his wife—'a very lotus pond in the shape of a woman'—makes him uncomfortable. A bargain is struck, and

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Sundarī asks her Lord, who appeared like the rising sun from the eastern mountain, to return soon. Nanda agrees and casts a side glance at her. Proceeding slowly and in a solemn manner, he greets the Tathāgata explaining his delay, and the latter hastens to secure his ordination. Nanda's body is at the disposal of the Lord but not his mind. He is, however, reminded of his obligation not to quit the monastery. Sundarī's grief is bitter, and so is her lord's keen desire to cling to his beloved. The two following *sargas* deal with the demerits of women-flattery on their lips and treachery in their hearts—and Aśvaghosha is very bitter. Nanda is also warned of the evils of the pride. Finally, the pilgrimage of Nanda in the company of the Lord to mount Himavant and the trip to Indra's paradise where he feels enamoured of the heavenly nymphs. His passion is inflamed and forgetting Sundarī he solicits Tathāgata's help in obtaining the heavenly nymphs. This is the turning point in the story. Bitten by that viper of love, Nanda feels inactive and lost in his spirits. He is advised to acquire merit by the practice of the law to obtain the *apsaras*. Despite the long enduring self-control, subject to neither joy nor agitation, Nanda still has the nymphs fixed in his mind till Ānanda warns him that the joys of heaven are transitory, and when man's merits are exhausted, he must return to earth again. Nanda now obtains instructions from the Buddha following the nobler course of seeking salvation not for himself alone, but for preaching it to others. Holding the law of holy knowledge, girding on the armour of attentiveness, and taking up his post on the chariot of the vows of pure discipline, he prepares for victory.[21] The sharp splinter of false views lodging in his heart, as Asvaghosha points out, is ultimately pulled out by the jaws of the forceps of the Lord's voice.[22] His wife Sundarī, too, with the desires turned away from various objects of senses, preaches among women freedom from passion.[23]

Sāriputraprakaraṇa: The *Sāriputraprakaraṇa*[24] of which only a few passages are extant in a central Asian manuscript was a nine act play, with the story of the conversion of Sāriputra and Maudgalyāna as its theme. Some of the incidents recorded are certain. The interview of Sāriputra with Aśvajita with whom he discusses the question of the claim of the Buddha to be a teacher, the role played by Vidūśaka, who objects to a Brahmin like his master receiving instructions from a Kshatriya, and Sāriputra refuting the objection by reminding his friend that medicine aids the sick though given by one of inferior caste, Maudgalyāyana greeting Sāriputra and enquiring about his happy appearance and learning finally culminate in the two going to the Buddha. He receives them and tells them about their future as highest in knowledge and power among his

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disciples. The delineation from the ordinary version of the story is noticed in the Buddha's prophecy about the future of the two young converts given to them and not to other followers. In the end there is a dialogue on philosophy between Sāriputra and the Tathāgata, including a polemic against the belief in the existence of the permanent self. The play ends with a praise of the two new disciples by the Buddha and a formal benediction.

The same manuscript which contains portions of the *Sāriputra-prakaraṇa,* has fragments of two other dramas as well. It is presumed[25], that in the absence of any definite evidence as to their authorship, and the display of similarity in general appearance with Aśvaghosha's drama, these two might also be his production. The first one is a Buddhist allegory and the second one concerns the love affair of a young Nāyaka name Somadatta and his conversion to Buddhism. The fragment of the allegorical play contains rhymes composed to a greater extent in Aśvaghosha's style, and Somadatta's love affair ending in his conversion might have some reference to the *Saundarananda.* Johnston, however, doubts[26] Aśvaghosha's claim as the author of the other two plays because of the occurrence of three verses in the *Śragadhārā* metre which became popular with later Buddhists, especially those of Kaśmīra, and two in Hāriṇī and one in Āryā. According to F. W. Thomas,[27] Aśvaghosha was the author of the lyrical drama treating the legend of Rāshṭrapāla, while Windisch[28] thinks that his dramatic powers are also exhibited in the Māra legend of the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* prescribed in the *Divyāvadāna.* Prof. Lüders in his *Brüchstücke*[29] mentions the characters of the drama, Pari-pārśvikah, assistant to the stage director—Mādhaka, the prompter and the actors—Somadatta, the hero, Kumudhagandha, the Viduśaka Dhanaṁ or Dhanaṁjayah, possibly a prince, the *hetaera* Magadhavatī, the female attendant *chetī,* besides Buddha, Siddhārtha, Sāriputra, Maudgalyāyana and Brahma, figure in this play.

It is difficult to suggest if the two plays were also the works of Aśvaghosha, although they conform to the canons of *Nāṭyaśāstra,* and the subject matter is also very close to the known drama of Aśvaghosha. He displayed his talents in this direction as well.

Other works of Aśvaghosha: The Chinese and Tibetan translations attribute to the Buddhist poet a few more works—listed by Thomas in his *Kavīndravachana-samucchaya,*[30] *Gaṇḍisṭotra,* and *Vajrasūchī.* Those attributed to him in Tibetan are 11 in number which led Kern to think[31] that Aśvaghosha was not an historical man, but a personification of Kāla, a form of Śiva. It would, however, be difficult to consider works dealing with the fully developed Mahāyānism, and associate these with Aśvaghosha. Of the other

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two works—mentioned above *Vajrasūchī;* a clever piece of polemics with arguments against Brahmin superiority and caste system, has hardly any trace of Aśvaghosha's style. His association with this work rests on very slender foundation.[32] The other work—*Gaṇḍistotra*, 'the song of the bell,' a collection of 29 stanzas in *Sragadhārā* metre, too, has no affinity with the style of Aśvaghosha, and it is supposed to have been written centuries later during the period of anarchy in Kaśmīra. The controversy about the authorship of *Sūtralaṁkāra*, mentioned by I-tsing, is finally settled with the finding of the original Sanskrit manuscript in Central Asia.[33]

Aśvaghosha and Earlier Literature: An estimate of Aśvaghosha, as a poet can be formed only when we consider his indebtedness to earlier poets, the extent to which later poets copied him, the different facets of his Kāvya, romanticism and nature in his works and finally his style. These aspects necessitate separate treatment, but here for the sake of conciseness we shall consider these briefly. At the outset it is an accepted fact that the Suvarṇākshīputra, the native of Sāketa from a Brahmin family, must have been well up in learning and was considerably influenced by the legend of Rāma as related by the Ādi-Kavi Vālamīki.[34] References from Aśvaghosha's works are copious in suggesting that the poet knew Brahmanical literature—References to Agastya obtaining Lopamudrā from Rohiṇī[35] wife of Soma, Yayāti who dallied with the apsarā Viśvakī,[36] and Vyāsa arranging the lost Vedas in many sections[37] are just a few instances of his knowledge of Vedic mythology. Aśvaghosha's indebtedness to the Mahābhārata is evident from his drawing personalities from the Epics—as for example, the story of Sāntanu, son of Pratīpa, losing all control at his desertion by Gaṅgā[38] and Janaka instructing the twice-born in the Yoga.[39] He also cites legends from the Mahābhārata, the destruction of the Kurus,[40] the deeds of Bhīshma[41] and Pāṇḍu's attachment to Mādrī.[42] He also drew matter and language from the *Bhagavadgītā*. In the advice to Nanda to check the naturally fickle sense[43], the unsatisfied ones are compared to the ocean which though incessantly supplied with water still longs for more.[44] The Lord advises Arjuna that the self-controlled person attains peace when the senses employed are purged of attachment.

Aśvaghosha's indebtedness to the Ādi Kavi Vālamīki from whom he got inspiration has been worked out by several scholars.[45] Gawronski first drew attention to some references. He referred to eight stanzas from the *Buddha-charita*, four speaking of Rama's exile and of Daśaratha's despair and lament. Among these the one[46] spoken by Chandaka on his parting from the Prince finds a parallel in Sarga 52 of Book II of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The second reference[47] relat-

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ing to the arrival of Chandaka and Kanṭhaka without the Śākyan prince is similar to the chariot of Daśaratha's son returning without the prince, and the people lamenting in the same way. Bemoaning in the palace, Śuddhodana envies Daśaratha, the son of Aja, who after the departure of his son to the forest went to heaven instead of living in misery with futile tears.[48] The last one refers to his many laments like Daśaratha's dominated by grief for Rāma.[49] It finds parallelism to several passages in Sargas 58-64 of Book II of the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Polish scholar also notices four other references which are vague. These concern the deputation to the prince,[50] requesting him to adhere to the wishes of his father, as did Bhishma and Rāma.[51] He also leaves the penance grove for protecting the earth when it was exposed to the infidel.[52] The last is from the mouth of Siddhārtha 'And as for your quoting the instance of Rāma and others to justify my return, they do not prove your case, for those who have broken their vows are not competent authorities in deciding matters of dharma.'*(na te pramāṇam na dharma-niśchaye)*.[53]

Some parallelism is traced in the events that follow the same course in the two *Kāvyas*—the charioteer's return journey, his entrance into the capital, assailed by the citizens anxious for the news, their lament and defection, the women running and withdrawing in deep depression, and finally his audience with the king are described in the same strain in both the works. Other sets of parallel stanzas relate to Yaśodhara's lament over her husband's departure for the forest,[54] and Suddhodana's lamentations including instances showing identical *anuprāsas*.[55]

Gurner, picking up the thread left by Gawronski, treats it fully with aspects of comparison divided under four heads—stock topics, style and *alaṁkaras*, grammar and vocabulary, and lastly moral instances. The stock topics are confined to descriptive passages of purely literary value or fragments drawn from the general corpus of standardised Sanskrit learning. The model reigns of Daśaratha and Rāma, characterised by prosperity, general goodwill and blessings, are echoed in the conditions of Kapilavastu during the reign of Śuddhodana. The allusion to Manu in both,[56] the stock description of the city[57] and of the āśrama, recall those narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. Stock phases and terms are noticed in the types of ascerticism.[58] The richness of Rāmāyaṇa in the feminine laments, as for example of Sīta, finds a poor parallel in Sundarī's over her desertion[59] by her husband. Sundarī followed the woman's way with her ornaments as Kaikeyī had taught her.[60] The descriptive element in the human pathos of the king lying on earth—*bhūmipālātmajo bhumau śete*—develops into *praveritās=te bhuvi tasya mūrdhajā*.[61] Close similarities in the description of the weeping horse of Siddhārtha,[62] the

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animal-faced demons of Māra, armed with branches of trees and stones recalling the army of Rāvaṇa and the weapons of the monkeys,[63] the curious interest in description of a loud noise, such as that of the moving army,[64] are a few instances of the influence of *Rāmāyaṇa* on Aśvaghosha's Kāvyas. It has, however, been hinted by Gurner that a description of the stock topics runs from the *Rāmāyaṇā* through the classics. A few more parallels can be traced, as for example, between the women asleep in the palace of Śuddhodana and those in the palace of Rāvaṇa.[65] The allusion to the festival of Indra's banner[66] and the frequency with which it occurs seems to be in direct imitation of its use in *Rāmāyaṇa*.[67]

It would, thus, appear that Aśvaghosha was to a greater extent indebted to the poet Vālamīki. The description of the stock-topics may have been derived from a common source, but the Buddhist poets' reference to the Ādikavi, and parallelism which have been traced by scholars, point to his indebtedness to Vālamīki. The same can be said with regard to Kālidāsa in his relation with Aśvaghosha,[68] although some scholars suggest Aśvaghosha's indebtedness to Kālidāsa, placing him in the first century B.C. It would be necessary to review their relations in terms of parallelism in their works.

Aśvaghosha and Kālidāsa: Kālidāsa might not have been a plagiarist, but his works show similarity with those of Aśvaghosha in anecdotes or *prasaṅgas*, and in lexicography or in the use of words and phrases. This is nothing unusual. The similarity in *prasaṅgas* is confined to incidents happening in similar circumstances, as for instance, the desertion of Sundarī in close analogy to Ratī after her lord was reduced to ashes. The two ladies lament in the same strain with the hope that some day they would meet their lords. Similar is the moaning of the two dispirited lovers, Nanda and Aja in low spirits. The excursion arranged for the Śākyan prince to divert his attention witnessed by the ladies of the town sitting in their balconies and their faces appearing like the lotuses stuck on the pavilions, compares favourably with the seventh canto of *Kumārasaṁbhava*—describing the marriage procession of Śiva. The description of the ladies is almost similar in the latter work.

K. C. Chattopadhyaya[69] drew minute references from the works of the two poets with a view to showing similarity in expressions. The discomfiture caused by the desire to move forward to pay reverence to the Buddha, but the attachment for Sundarī compelling him to retrace back like a royal goose left on the waves, is expressed in a similar manner in the *Saundarananda* and in the *Kumārasaṁbhava*.[70]

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Some phrases and expressions remain unchanged in the works of Kālidāsa, as for example, the reference to the mental attitude in exactly similar expression,[71] women having no forbidden place,[72] attitude of defiance,[73] displacement of necklaces or garments from the breasts[74] and scores of others collected by Chattopadhyaya. It is quite likely that a good many might be treated as stock-phrases continuing from poet to poet. Similarities in *prasaṅgas*, expressions and even in the mental attitude on set occasions, make the latter indebted to the earlier one. As Rājaśekhara rightly puts it, '*nāstyachauraḥ Kavijanaḥ*'—so Kālidasa may have borrowed from Aśvaghosha, his predecessor, and not the other way, as presumed by Chattopadhyaya.

Aśvaghosha and early Buddhist Literature: Aśvaghosha's indebtedness to the early Buddhist literature could only be in theme. The framework of his *Kāvyas* is based on certain models taken from the earlier Buddhist works. The version of the story of Nanda might be based on the *Dhammapada* or the *Nidānakathā* in the *Jātakas*[75] where it is related that Nanda was ordained as monk by the Buddha, much against his will. The distinguishing feature is that the Lord placed his bowl in Nanda"s hand while marriage ceremonies with Kalyānī were in progress, and he follows him with the bowl in his hand with the bride bellé running after him with tears streaming down her face. In the *Saundarananda* the marriage is a *fait accompli.* Except for Nanda's ordination there is nothing in common. Aśvaghosha refers to Salvation through Yoga,[76] for which there is no earlier reference in the strict sense till we come to the school of the Yogāchāras.

Aśvaghosha as a poet: Aśvaghosha wrote his long poems not for the sake of poetry but for a higher consideration—the ideal of salvation to which every thing is subordinated. In him poetry becomes a hand-maid of religion and philosophy. He appeals to human emotions through his Kāvyas in which one notices the skilled art of versification, the rhetorical art of embellishment, and the charming phrases and idioms, with appropriate similies and metaphors. In employing the literary art for a religious purpose, Johnston remarks, 'Aśvaghosha[77] is a writer of baffling contrasts, on the one hand the literary artist as a story teller, preacher and poet; on the other hand the scholar anxious to conform with all the rules, and to parade his knowledge. The possession of good qualities implies a liability to the corresponding defects and among a people who treasured intelligence and learning, it is not surprising to find some who lapses at times, like the Buddhist poet, into pedantry. For if his matter is excellent, his manner is often disconcerting'.

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Aśvaghosha's style is simple, but he is not free from artificial embellishments or *alaṅkaras*. He is experienced in his art of presentation and the handling of comparisons is his main technique in the execution of his long narrative poems. His fondness for similies and the wide range from which he draws them is unparalleled. Romanticism and naturalism equally figure in these poems. In the description of women and the technique adopted by them in attracting the Śākyan prince, the poet notices even the minutest things—the mighty power of the weaker sex is such that even the sheldrake in the water follows obediently his mate like a servant'.[78] Women delight with their soft voices, charming blandishments, playful intoxication, sweet laughter, curving of the eye-brows and sidelong glances.[79] Skilled in the accessories of love (*Kāma's ca paṇḍitāḥ*),[80] possessed of coquettish gestures calculatd to excite amorous sentiments, they could make even the lust-free seers waver.[81] In the words of Udāyin, the Purohita's son, 'lack of courtesy towards women ill-befits one who is young in years and beautiful in person as the Śākan Lord.[82] Humility and compliance alone bind women's heart who like to be respected with affection.[83] A person is expected to be courteous for that is the value of women, the best ornament; its absence undermines physical beauty like a grove without flowers.[84]

Aśvaghosha is equally bitter against them. They are compared to poisonous creepers leading to disaster in the end.[85] Honey is on their tongue, but poison in their heart.[86] They are considered as the origin of all sins and dangers,[87] behaving ignobly and treacherously and skilled in detecting the weakness of others.[88] The poet, through the mouth of Śākyan prince, advises people not to place more trust in them than in enemies.[89] To a virtuous person, they are masterful as husbands, but submissive as sons to the vicious, behaving greedily with the rich and treating the poor with contempt.[90] There is nothing in this world which they are not capable of doing, and even the seers could not immune themselves from licking the dust of passion raised by women.[91] Ultimately the poet suggests that no man bitten by that viper of love remains active in life.[92]

Aśvaghosha seems to have studied the psychology of women their character and methods of approach. He is equally free in describing feminine beauty, the condition of a disgrunted lover. He compares the deceptive period of youth to a desert which, when safely crossed, brings utter relief.[93] The flush of youth is a target for the god of love and cannot be protected from senses. It is not unlikely that the poet could dedicate himself to the service of the Tathāgata after a bitter experience, as usually happens. The romantic

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side in Aśvaghosha's poems is suggestive of the poet's keen power of observation and his art of presentation.

Nature in Aśvaghosha: The Buddhist poet paints nature with the light brush of ornate poetry in the choicest expression of words. Nature is interpreted in terms of human passions, trees accentuating the lover's sorrow or reviving his reminiscences. The lover with a broken heart finds his agony accentuated when he notices the creeper climbing firmly to the mango bough over which it has grown. The creeper laughs at him for his attachment to human beauty which is not as firm as that of hers. Aśvaghosha sees nature at its best—the smart slumber of birds and deer[94] lying in perfect trust, the peacocks rising[95] up in delightful mood, or the vegetable kingdom in its full bloom. The very blooming natural kingdom is personified in trees, plants, birds and animals, mountains and rivers and the movements of the clouds with the flushing lights, encircling the moon in rainy season. The poet notices the approach of the winter turning the moon pale in the sky.[96] The description of the moon casting reflection on the rippling water,[97] its beams piercing a rift in a cloud and producing bright light,[98] and the full moon entering the dark night at night's close bathing in the rays of the rising sun,[99] matches excellently with the description at another place of the young sun rising on the eastern mountain,[100] or climbing to dispel the darkness with its lustre.

Lotus seems to be his favourite. One finds in his *Buddhacharita,* the beautiful women sitting on the balconies, like lotuses stuck on the pavilions,[101] the lotus-eyed damsel,[102] the lotus pond of which the lotuses have been blown down or broken by the wind,[103] or a river with lotuses enjoyed by a straight row of bees.[104] The lamented ladies in the palace have tears on their faces looking like mighty lotuses whipped by the rain.[105] He also refers to the aśoka tree, the increaser of lover's sorrow in which the bees murmer as if scorched by fire, and its shoots abashed by feminine touch,[106] the *tilaka* tree embraced by a mango branch like a man in white garments.[107] Nature also accentuates the restlessness of Nanda. The *Priyaṅgu* tree, his mistresses' favourite, makes him [108] sob, the sight of the cuckoo sitting on the flower cover crown of a *tailaka* tree appeared like the coils of his beloved on her white robe.[109] Aśvaghosha portrays nature in relation to human passion, enhancing the lover's pangs and laughing at him for his attachment to human beauty.

Aśvaghosha is considered by Johnston[110] as primative in art, just as he is in religion and philosophy, for his intricacy and elaboration, insistence or symmetry exposure of the framework, and his

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non-function decoration which are characteristics of early work. The depth of his feeling and enthusiasm with which the poet presents his poetry, is the outcome of his intense devotion to the Tathāgata. He exhibits his feelings in plain words without rhetorical and pedantic tricks. He speaks straight from his heart. If analogy is to be found in European poetry, Johnston would compare him to Milton both as a scholar, and equally fond of displaying his learning who really sought to express it within the limits of an epic.

The Mahāvastu: Literally meaning 'the great thing', corresponding to the *Mahāvagga* of the Pāli *Vinayapiṭaka*, the work, according to the colophon,[111] is based on the text of the Lokattaravādins of the Mahāsāṅghika school. The main purpose of the work is to depict the life story of the Buddha for the Lokottaravādins, according to whose doctrines the Buddhas are exalted above the world (*lokottara*) accepting the worldly life only externally.[112] The narrative considerably disturbed by the intrusion of numerous Jātakas and Avadānas, lacks systematic arrangement and the reader has difficulty in picking up the lost thread. It is described as labyrinth, and no attempt is made to establish any connection between the various parts. The stories connected with the Lord are told both in prose and in verse, sometimes diverging in degrees.

The Age of the Mahāvastu: The antiquity of this work can be suggested only on the basis of the internal evidence, since the Chinese sources are silent. The language of this work is mixed Sanskrit, but is in different styles.[113] The work belongs to the Lokottaravāda school, and refers to the ten *Bhūmis*,[114] but there is no reference to the Mahāyānist Buddhist mythology. It is, therefore, likely to be composed in the transitory period between the decline of Hīnayānism and the rise of Mahāyānism. The identical pieces in the Mahāvastu and the Pali cannonical literature, probably with a common source suggest the archaic nature of its composition. In this connection Winternitz refers[115] to the Gāthas of the *Khaggavishaṇasūtra*[116] probably earlier than those of the corresponding *Khaggavisānasutta* in the *Pali Suttanipata*. The Mahāyānist features, as well as some passages which seem to be influenced by sculptures of the Gandhāra art,[117] indicate the period belonging to the earlier centuries after Christ. The lower limit of the work is suggested on the basis of the reference to the Hūṇas, to the Chinese language and script, and the designation of the astrologer as Horāpāṭhaka.[118]

The cultural data from this work are helpful in suggesting its probable date. The work furnishes a new list of trade guilds[119] not known to the Jātakas. Out of these eighteen guilds, the *Samitākara* or the wheat-flour is also mentioned in a record[120] of the Kushāṇa

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period of the time of Huvishka. Similarly the *Yantrakāras* or 'the makers of engines' are also mentioned in a Nāsik record.[121] The reference to various types of scripts—Brāhmī, Pushkarasārī, Kharoshṭhī, Greek (Yavanānī)[122] and others, and writing on a bhūrja leaf[123] also necessitate consideration. The reference to the worship of the Brahmanical deities, particularly, Śiva and Skanda, besides others,[124] is interesting in view of the depiction of these two Brahmanical deities on the Kushāṇa coins. Īśvara and Māheśvara are also mentioned in the *Sadharmapuṇḍarīka.*[125] The *Mahāvastu* also refers to Vedic sacrifices,[126] and the Brahmins officiating on these occasions. Several Yūpas with inscriptions are dated between the first to third century A.D. The Mathura Yūpa inscription of the time of Vāsishka may also be quoted here. It would, thus, appear that the data from the *Mahāvastu* is suggestive of the period between the first and the third century[127] A.D., although Winternitz would like to push up the earlier limit to the first century B.C., and the lower one down to the fourth century A.D.

Contents and relations with other texts: The work shows a weak combination of Mahāyāna doctrines with old legendary forms without any reference to the Mahāyāna mythology. The life story of the Buddha, in agreement with the *Nidānakathā,* does not exhaust the contents of the work. It preserves many old traditions which appear in the Pali canonical literature as well. These old traditions are noticed by Winternitz.[128] As the treasure house of the Jātakas related partly in prose, partly in mixed prose and verse, there is a good deal of identity, though sometimes deviating from the old version. A few new additions are also made—with reference to the glorification of the Bodhisattva—evidently Buddha—for his generosity and sacrificing spirit. The presentation of 80,000 grottos (cave temples) constructed of seven kinds of precious stones to the Buddha of the time,[129] the dedication of his wife and child merely to learn a wise saying,[130] the pious nature of a potter keeping the pots filled up with rice and beans for the hungry people[131] are stories not noticed in earlier work.

The Hīnayānist character of this work is apparent from its contents which could find parallels in the earlier texts, but the Mahāyānist features are noticed in the reference to the ten *Bhūmis,* the supernatural character of the Buddha and Bodhisattavas in eulogistic hymns.[132] The importance attached to Bhakti or devotion to the Buddha and the acquiring of endless merit by merely walking round[133] the stūpa and worshipping it by means of floral offerings are some of the Mahāyānist features—noticed in literature and art alike.

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Lalitavistara: This work regarded as one of the most sacred Mahāyāna texts[134] (the *Vaipulyasūtra*), exhibits all the features of Mahāyānism, though originally it was meant for the Sarvāstivādins. It aims in presenting the detailed narration of the sports of the Buddha, giving the hero a supernatural touch and an exalted character. The long circumstantial introduction occupying a big chapter precede the beginning of the long narrative. This work, despite frequent agreements with the old Pali accounts, has much that is missing in earlier works.

Age: The external evidence regarding its age is probably furnished by *Fo-pen-ning-king* (A.D. 68),[135] which was regarded as the translation of the *Lalitavistara*...The work was lost long ago. It is also improbable that *Pou-yao-king*, the biography of the Buddha, translated by Dharmaraksha in the year 308 A.D., is at all a real translation of the text. The Tibetan translation[136] is a late production and so also is the sculptural evidence furnished by the Borobudur in Java, representing scenes from the life of the Buddha. It is suggested that the artists who adorned the Graeco-Buddhist monuments of northern India with scenes from the life of the Buddha must have been familiar with the Buddha legend, as related in the *Lalitavistara*. Art and literature seem to have influenced each other.[137] It is suggested by Winternitz[138] that the period of the development of the Gandhāra art, that is, the first two centuries of the Christian era, is also the period of the earlier Mahāyāna texts which deal with the Buddha legend.

Contents: Between the two extreme views regarding the whole *Lalitavistara* as a good ancient source for our knowledge of Buddhism,[139] or as one dealing with the popular Buddhism of the earlier period,[140] probably lies the truth. The work suggests Mahāyānist conceptions as noted by its glorified accounts of the Lord, which are missing in earlier Hīnayāna works. It is by no means free from the influence of earlier Buddhist traditions and ideals. There are passages identical with the *Mahāvagga*. According to Kern,[141] the material of the *Mahāvaipulyasūtra* is partly as old as that of any other sacred book of the Buddhists. Exaggerated accounts, and miraculous and supernatural elements figure freely in this work. The account of the Buddha, being taken as a boy to the temple of his foster-mother and the statues of all gods rising from their pedestals for salutations, or the account of his first day at the school where he surprises his teacher in showing knowledge of all the scripts are not noticed in earlier works. Certain episodes in Chapters XII and XIII are new, and the last chapter on the glory of the work brings out the new theme and method of presentation of this *Mahāvaipulya Sūtra*.

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The literary and religious values of the work are considerable. The ballads and episodes give it an epic character, while the use of different metres enhance its literary value. Serving as a history or Buddhist religion, it may not be a good old source of our knowledge of Buddhism, as presumed by Senart, but its popular side is characterised by emphasis on *bhakti* or devotion. The presentation of the chief events in the life of the Buddha adorned with miracles and shower of eulogies is supposed by Levi, as a model for Aśvaghosha's *Buddhacharita*.[142] It is suggested earlier that the well-planned arrangement of the material is in striking contrast to that in the texts like the *Mahāvastu* and the *Lalitavistara*, although it is closer to the latter in the subject matter.

Avadānas: The term *Avadāna*, interchangeable with the Pali *Apadāna*, denotes 'illustrious acts and feats' or a 'glorious performance'—though it is commonly employed in the sense of *Karmavrittaṁ* or *Bhūtapūrvacharitaṁ*.[143] The Avandānas relate the story of the present, the story of the past with a moral. In the first category it is very much like a Jātaka. Avadānas frequently give a prophecy of the future and serve to explain the present action or '*Karma*'. White actions bring white fruits, black actions bring black fruits, and the mixed ones, mixed fruits. Ordinary people are exhorted to strive only after white actions, and not after the other two classes. Thus one is the maker of his own fate. The higher Buddhist thought and philosophy is not covered either by the Avadānas or by the Jātakas. The two differ only in the dramatic person of the story. It is always the Boddhisattva in the Jātaka stories, but not necessarily so in the Avadānas.

Avadānaśataka: Of the Avadāna texts preserved, the oldest may be the Avadānaśataka[144]—stated to have been rendered into Chinese in the first half of the third century A.D. As it mentions the term *dināra*,[145] it can hardly be placed earlier than A.D. 100. It is a Sanskrit Hīnayāna text, though Buddha worship has an important place in the legends. There is no trace of the Bodhisattva cult of Mahāyāna mythology. The work called *Sugatabhāshitam* in the colophon at the end, is divided into ten vargas or decades, each dealing with a specific subject, as for instance, the first and the third sections deal with the prophesies (*vyākarnāṇi*) of future Buddhahood. In the second varga, the story of the present is the main tale, and in the fourth that of the past relating to some heroic performance like a Jātaka. The fifth is somewhat akin to the *Petavatthu* of the Pāli literature. Several of the tales relate to the ghosts whose sufferings are observed by Maudgalyāyana as due to black deeds. In the sixth varga are stories of men and animals who by means of pious deeds are born as gods in heaven. In vargas VII-X

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are described deeds which entitle a person to qualify as an Arhat. The Arhats of Book VII are all Śākyas, in Book VIII, these are all women: Book IX refers to men of blameless conduct while those in Book X had formerly done bad deeds, and after undergoing sufferings they attained the stage of an Arhat by means of a pious deed.

The title of the work shows that it was written on a definite plan and the stories or tales are classified in a planned manner—showing uniformity in presentation. Every narrative begins with the Buddha, the Lord honoured, highly esteemed, held in honour and praised by kings, ministers etc. and concludes with the words—'thus spoke the Lord, and with enraptured hearts the monks applauded the words of the Lord'. The moral of the story is always summed up—'So, works, the fruits of black deeds is quite black, that of quite white deeds quite white, that of mixed deeds is mixed. Therefore, give up the black and mixed deeds, and take pleasure only in the quite white deeds.'

Divyāvadāna: Translated literally as 'the heavenly stores,' this work is a later collection than the *Avadāna śataka.*[146] It has a foot in the Hīnayāna and another in the Mahāyāna doctrines of Buddhism. The Hīnayāna character is evident from the frequent references to canonical texts such as *Dīrghāgama,*[147] *Udāna*[148] and *Sthāvīra-gāthā.*[149] The narrative also begins and ends exactly in the same way as in the *Avadānasataka.* The later additions to this work are made in the Mahāyāna spirit. Thus chapter 34 calls itself a Mahāyāna Sūtram and the *Shaḍakshāra Vidyā,* i.e. *Om maṇi pad huṁ* is mentioned in Chapter 33. The style of the work, like that of the *Mahāvastu,* is not uniform and it presents confused and disconnected account, lacking coherence and unity. The work was not composed in one period. The *Śāradūlakarṇāvadāna,*[150] one of the most interesting legends, was translated into Chinese in A.D. 265—thereby suggesting that this portion was written in the second century A.D., much before its translation into Chinese. It is very likely that the work was written by several authors in different periods. Sylvain Levi puts its data in the second century A.D. Przyluski, however, thought[151] that the Aśokāvadāna began to take shape about 150-100 B.C., while Winternitz presumed that the work as a whole could not have been in existence earlier than the 4th century A.D. Some portions of the work were written in the third or the fourth century A.D., especially those based on the *Avadānaśataka* or the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitīka* of Kumāralāta, while the portion dealing with the later Mauryan history was written much earlier probably in the first century A.D. The major portion was composed in the second century A.D.

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The *Divyāvadāna* drew material from the earlier canonical literature, Aśvaghosha's Kāvya—*Buddhacharita*, as well as from the *Avadanasataka*. Hūber identified[152] 18 *Avadānas* from the *Divyāvadāna* with narratives in the Chinese *Mūlasarvāstivādavinaya*, while Sylvain Levi added[153] to this a portion of Avadāna No. xvii (Mānadhāta). Relationship also exists between the *Sūtrālaṁkāra* and this work—the former being the source of three tales—those concerning Upagupta and Māra, Aśoka and Yaśas. Gawronski suggests that the cycles of Aśoka's legends are based on Aśvaghosha. Quoting Leuman, he points to a stanza occuring in a somewhat corrupt form in the *Kuṇālāvadāna*.[154] Words, forms and passages are quoted by this Polish author suggesting the influence of Aśvaghosha's Kāvyas on the compilers of the *Divyāvadāna*.

A literary estimate of this work can be formed in terms of its style, composition, arrangement of details, and coherence and unity in presentation. It is recognized that the work shows a confused and disconnected treatment and lacks unity. There is no systematic treatment and portions probably written earlier are noticed in the end. There is disparity in language and style. As pointed out by Oldenberg,[155] there are two distinct styles—an earlier canonical one, and a later style, characterised with metres of ornate poetry The stories are not new, but these are presented to meet the requirements of common people to raise their moral standards. The work also presents cultural data—considered under different headings—which serve as corroborative pieces of evidence.

Suddharma-Puṇḍarīka: Literally meaning, the 'Lotus of the true law'[156] this work represents that advanced form of Mahāyāna Buddhism, symbolised with Buddha worship, the cult of the relics and image worship, and the dedication of Buddhist stūpas and Vihāras. It is an exposition of the simple doctrine of deliverance through the vehicle of the Buddha (Buddhayāna)—Śākyamuni, who is the God above all gods, an infinitely exalted being, living since countless ages in the past, and will also live in future as the father of the world, the physician and protector of all creatures, who returns every now and then to preach to the deluded ones. 'As he pours down the great rain of religion, sounding its drum, raising its banner and lighting the great torch, and blowing the great shell trumpet and beating the great drum of the dharma, a ray of light issues out from the hair between his eye-brows and illuminates eighteen thousand Buddha-lands.'

Age: The age of this work can be approximately determined by the external evidence, namely its translation into Chinese and the internal evidence from the work itself. The whole of the *Saddharma*

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Puṇḍarīka gives an expression of a later phase of Buddhism.[157] The work was first translated into Chinese in 223 A.D. This is not available but we have the other translations of Dharmaraksha (286 A.D.), and Kumarajīva and that of Jñāngupta and Dharmagupta.[158] The Chinese translations—in the third century A.D., suggest that the work must have been composed atleast a century earlier. The work is also quoted by Nāgārjuna[159] and it presents a mature form of Mahāyāna Buddhism. Reference to pictures of the Buddha made of jewels, statues of the Tathāgata made of wood and metal and in reliefs and frescoes[160] suggest that the work must have inspired the Buddhist artists.[161] The date of this work might be roughly fixed in the early part of the second century A.D., though Poussain[162] presumes that some portions, especially the earlier chapters might have been written rather earlier.

Contents: Kern in his introduction has summarised the contents of the work chapterwise. Serious thoughts are plainly illustrated through Parallels with a view to showing that one could attain nirvāna only through the mercy of Buddha. In the 'parable of the prodigal son' who wanders from place[163] to place, Buddha is compared to the wise and wealthy father. Forgetting the past he gradually draws the deluded and misguided one to seek refuge in him, as an equally good father and physician[164] to all. The preachings of the Lord are compared to the rays of the sun and the moon, spreading all over the world, covering the good and the evil ones alike.[165] The contents also reveal Brahmanical influence emanating from the Bhakti cult and the philosophy of the Upanishads. The similarity in the Buddhist and Brahmanical outlook centres round the personality of the Buddha, helping all those who seek refuge in him, and secondly the Buddhist Lord representing the highest *Brahma* or mind. The influence of the *Bhagavadgītā* is perceptible in the first sphere, while that of the Upanishads in the second one.[166]

The *Saddharma-Puṇḍarīka,* as a literary piece, does possess certain characteristics befitting a work of high literary order. Suitable similies and metaphors embellish it. Unlike the *Mahāvastu* there is coherence and unity in the work. It is concise and free from prolixity, though sometimes the similies and parables are spinned out at considerable length, and with a good deal of verbosity. The glorification of the Buddha and the text is in immoderate and extravagant terms. Here it is akin to Purāṇas in spirit. The 'Lotus of the True Law' is like a tank for the thirsty, a fire for those who suffer from cold, a garment for the naked, a mother for the children, and a boat for those who ferry, and a torch for the dispelling of darkness.

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Sukhāvatīvyūha: The detailed description of the 'Blessed land' is another Mahāyāna work, translated into Chinese between A.D. 147 and 184.[167] As the date of the translation of the other Sukhāvatī into Chinese is 402 A.D. the earliest being done by Kumārajīva, it is doubtful if the shorter Sukhāvatī really belonged to this period. The cultural value of this work is practically nothing, as the description relates to the blessed land—'The Buddhist Utopia' filled with infinitely sweet scent.

Milindapañha: 'The questions of Menander' has a chequered history. According to Rhys Davids,[168] written in Northern India at or a little after the beginning of the Christian era, either in Sanskrit or in some north Indian Prakrit, it is entirely lost in the land of its origin. The work in original seems to have been written, according to Winternitz,[169] in the first century A.D. rather than in the second century A.D. Rhys Davids considers its date between 100 and 200 A.D. Buddhaghosha[170] refers to it as 'an unimpeachable authority on a level with the canonical texts'. The Chinese translation of text, except for the spurious portion is supposed to have been done between A.D. 317 and 420 A.D.[171] The original text must have been written in the first or the second century A.D.[172] The work in its present form is divided into seven Books with different contents. The general structure and the subject matter suggest that some portion of the first Book and Books II and III form the original nucleus, while the other three might be later additions. Books IV-VII are wanting in the two Chinese translations. The colophon at the end of Book III—*Nāgasena-Milindarāja-pañhniṭṭhitā.* 'Here ends the solution to the problems of Nāgasena-Milinda discourse' suggest that the work in original must have been a short one.

The *Milindapañha* in its present form furnishes ample material for the cultural side of our study, serving as very good corroborative piece of evidence. The work must have been based or related to early Buddhist literature in some form or the other. Besides Buddhaghosha, it is also quoted as an authority in the *Dhammapada* commentary. Rhys Davids made an analytical study in the introduction to his translation, considering points of similarity and works to which the author of this work was indebted in early Pāli Literature. Between the *Kathāvatthu* and the *Milindapañha*—both very interesting books of controversial apologetics,—the late Professor suggests, 'the difference between the two is one of data, and secondly in the older book the controversy is carried on against members of the same communion whereas in the later we have a defence of Buddhism as against the outsider.'[173]

Despite the fact that the *Milindapañha* is a book of apologetic controversy, it is considered best in point of style and masterpiece

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of Indian prose. The solution of the *Milindapañha* awaits elucidation until fresh evidence is available which could shed light on its authorship, exact date of composition, its original language and form; and other data connected with it. On the whole, it can, however, be suggested that the work in its present form, on the basis of the data furnished by it, should be placed any time between the first and the third century A.D.

We have considered the literature of the period under study roughly from the latter half of the first century A.D. up to the first half of the third century A.D., conforming ourselves to chronology and date of works settled or nearly ascertained by Winternitz and others. We have not followed the works in strictly chronological order, but have given priority to Aśvaghosha and his works whose association with Kanishka is now regarded as more or less settled. Except for the *Milindapañha*, all the works considered in this chapter are in Sanskrit which was at the service of the Buddhist authors. It was also an age of transition with new ideas, and new interpretations of the old ones. Hīnayāna had not receded into the background, nor was Mahāyāna an independent religious force free from the fetters of old Buddhist canonical rules and dogmas. The authors of these works in general had a foot in Hīnayāna and another in Mahāyāna which was influenced by the Brahmanical literature, particularly *Bhagavadgītā*, and the *Upanishads*. The greater the element of Mahāyānism in the work the posterior is its character, could be our guiding principle for determining the date of the individual works considered here. We have refrained from considering Nāgārjuna's *Mādhyamikakārikā* for several reasons. The reference to the Bodhisattva Nāgārjuna in Kalhaṇaś *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[174] as the only lord of the land in Kaśmīra at the period of kings Hushka, Jushka and Kanishka, may, according to Winternitz[175] serve as a good working hypothesis, and nothing more. Moreover the propagation of the Mahāyāna Buddhism, according to the biography, translated into Chinese, was confined to Southern India.[176] These considerations, particularly his falling outside our period, weighed in our eliminating him. It has been suggested earlier that the literature of this period was at the service of religion and art, or these influenced the new trend in literature. The mutual influence of one over the other cannot be denied. We have tried to consider the literature of this period, and the other facets of culture. Art and Architecture subsequently follow.

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1. *History of Sanskrit Literature* (HSL), p. 55.
2. *Brüchstuche Buddhisticher Dramen* (1911); SBAW, 1911 p. 388 ff.; see also Konow—*Indische Dramen* p. 50. On Aśvaghosha in general, see. Levi in JA. 1892, Ser. 8, tome xix p. 201 ff; 1908, 8.10, and xii p. 57 ff; Anesaki in ERE II 1909 p. 159 F.W. Thomas, *Kavīndravachana Samucchaya* Bib. India 1912, p. 25

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ff; A purely legendary biography of Aśvaghosha was translated into Chinese by Kumārajiva between 401 and 409 A.D., published in extracts by Wassiljew, *Der Budhismus,* St. Petersburg, 1860, p. 231 ff. *Keith History of Sanskrit Literature* pp. ff. and *Sanskrit Drama,* pp. 90 ff. *Winternitz: History of Indian Literature* Vol. II. pp. 256. Johnston: *Introductions to Buddhacharita* and *Saundaraanda,* Nariman: *History of Sanskrit Buddhism;* and B.C. Law: *Aśvaghosha:*

3. The Sanskrit text was edited by Cowell in 1893; and translated by him in SBE Vol. 19, and by Johnston about forty years later. It has also been translated into German (Cappeller, 1922 and Schmidt 1924), into Italian by C. Formichi 1912, and in Hindi and Bengali. Critical restoration of the text and explanations have also been provided by several scholars—Occidental and Oriental, as for example, Bohtlingk, Keilhorn, Speyer, Finot, Luders, Joglekar, Gawronski, Gurner and Johnston. References to these contributions are given by Winternitz, Keith, Nariman and B.C. Law in their works. We gather from the words of I-tsing that he knew the *Buddhacharita* in the form in which it appeared in Chinese translation (*P'ou-Yao-King* translated from Sanskrit into Chinese between 414 and 421 A.D. by *Dharmaraksha,* and translated by Beal. *Op. cit.*). According to Rhys Davids JRAS (1901), p. 405. This Chinese work was not a translation of Aśvaghosa's *Buddhacharita* at all. The Tibetan version is supposed to be more accurate than the Chinese one, though it does not reproduce at least the first canto. (Leumann WZKT, 7, 1893, p. 193 ff).
4. Introduction p. xiv.
5. R.G. Bhandarkar: JBBRAS xx. pp. 312 ff; R.D. Banerji—*The Age of Imperial Guptas,* p. 42; K.P. Jayaswal: JBORS 1930, pp. 41. ff.
6. According to the Chinese sources, Aśvaghosha was the spiritual adviser and Charaka was the medical adviser of King Kanishka. cf. Levi: JA 1896, s. 9. Tome VIII. p. 447, Winternitz—*Op. cit.* p. 257 n.
7. Ref. No. 3 for Bibliography.
8. This poem was discovered by H.P. Sastri and edited by him. *Bib. Ind.* Calcutta, 1910. A critical edition with notes was published by E.H. Johnston (Oxford 1928), followed by an English translation, sometime later. It has also been translated into Hindi and Bengali. Critical studies of this work were made by Śāstrī, Thomas, Baston, La Vallée Poussin, Gawronski, Hultzsch, and Gurner. Winternitz agrees with Hultzsch in assuming that Aśvaghosha wrote his *Saundarananda* first, and *Buddhacharita* afterwards (ibid. p. 262 n).
9. ii. 240, iii, 45.
10. Keith—(HSL) p. 56; Winternitz op. cit. HP. Śāstrī BI 1910; Baston JA 1912, 1 pp. 79 ff., Hultzsch, ZDMG. lxxii ff. ZDMG. lxxii ff. Gawronski: *Studies about the Sansk. Buddha Lit.* op. 56 ff.
11. Takakusu p. 152 ff.
12. As against this view—see IHQ II pp. 657 ff.
13. *Budh char.* III. 16.
14. ibid III. 19-20.
15. *Raghu* VII 5-12.
16. *Budh. char.*—IV. 62 ff.
17. Chapter III.
18. HSL p. 58.
19. *Studies about the Sanskr. Buddh Lit.* pp. 27 ff.
20. Full references from the Pali literature, and the story of this half-brother of the Buddha are given in Malalasekera's: *Dictionary of Pali Proper Names, Vol. II,* pp. 10-12
21. XVII. 23.
22. XVII. 7.
23. XVIII. 59.
24. Konow: *Das Indische Drama,* Berlin 1920 50: for the fragments see Luders: *Bruchstucke buddhistischer Dramen* (1911); SBAW. 1911, pp. 388 ff; Keith: *Sanskrit Drama,* pp. 80 ff.
25. Keith: Op. cit. p. 83.
26. *Budh. char.* Intro p. xviii.
27. JRAS. 1925 p. 501.
28. *Mara und Buddha,* p. 161 ff. cf. Huber BEFEO iv. 414 f.
29. Op. cit. pp. 46-7.
30. *Bibliothica Indica* No. 1309, pp. 25-7.
31. *Der Buddhism* II, p. 484.
32. Johnston. *Introduction,* p. xxii.

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33. ibid p. xxiii.
34. *Budh. char.* I-43.
35. ibid iv, 73; R.V. iv. 10.33; Mahav. III, 110.
36. *Budh. char.* iv. 78, *Saun.* II. 53, *Mahāv.* I. 75.
37. *Budh. char.* I. 42.
38. *Sau.* vii. 41; *Mahāv.* I. 95.
39. *Budh. char.* I. 45; Mahab xii. 327.
40. ibid xi. 31; Saun ix 20.
41. ibid XI. 18; ibid VIII. 44.
42. ibid IV. 79; ibid X. 56.
43. Saun. XIII. 20; *Bhag. gītā* II. 58.
44. Saun. xiii. 40; ibid II. 70.
45. Gawronski: *Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature;* B.C. Law: *Aśvaghosha,* pp. 47 ff., According to Johnston, the influence of an early version of Valamīki's *Rāmāyaṇa* is to be sought, in language, ideas, similies and other rhetorical figures. See also Gurner: *Some textual notes on Aśvaghosha's Buddhacharita.* JASB. 1926.
46. *Budh. char.* vi. 36.
47. ibid VII. 83; RII. 57-59.
48. ibid VIII 89; *Ram* II 64.
49. ibid VIII. 81.
50. *Budh. char.* IX. 9.
51. ibid IX. 25.
52. ibid IX. 69.
53. ibid IX. 77.
54. ibid VIII. 53, R. II. 12.95-98.
55. ibid VIII. 43; R. II. 58, 18.
56. ibid II. 16: R.I. 63.
57. ibid VIII. 31, *Saun.* I 8: R.I. 1-9.
58. ibid VII. 14-18; R. III. 6-5.
59. R. IV 10; *Saun.* vi 13 ff.
60. R. IV. 9.59; *Saun* VI. 28.
61. R. II. 57.6; *Budh. Char.* VIII 52.
62. *Budh. char.* VI. 53-R.II. 57.
63. ibid XIII. 9; R. VI. 59.23.
64. ibid XIII. 52.
65. ibid V. 47-63; R.V. 10-30-49.
66. ibid I. 63; VII. 73, *Saun* III. 25; IV. 46.
67. II. 74.36; Gawronski. Op. cit. p. 30.
68. The theory that Kālidāsa flourished in the Gupta Age is now generally accepted and is supported by various arguments, viz. that he borrowed from Aśvaghosha and Vātsyāyana's *Kāmasūtra* and revised *Setubandha* of the Vākāṭaka king Pravarasena II, that his works contain veiled allusions to the names of Gupta Emperors, that he knew of the Hūṇa invasion etc. (*Classical Age* p. 303). For an attempt to justify the 1st century B.C. theory, see K.C. Chattopadhyaya—*Allahabad University Studies* Vol. II pp. 80 ff); K. M. Shembhavanekar. Journal University of Bombay 1, 4 pp. 232-42), C.K. Raja denies Kālidāsa's association with Vikramāditya and makes him a contemporary of king Agnimitra (IHQ. XVIII. 128).
69. *Allahabad University Studies*—Vol. II. pp. 80 ff.
70. Saun. IV. 42; *Kum* V. 85.
71. ibid XVI 84; Megh V. 33.
72. ibid VIII-44; *Raghu.* V. 64.
73. ibid X. 20; *Kum* I. 59.
74. ibid X. 36; *Kum* V. 84.
75. Harward Oriental Series (HOS) Vol. 28, p. 219; Fausboll I. p. 91.
76. Saun. V. 32—*āsthāya yogam parigamya tatvam.*
77. Johnston: *Introduction,* p. xxxviii.
78. *Budh. char.* IV. 50.
79. ibid II. 31.
80. ibid II. 32.
81. ibid IV. 12.
82. ibid IV. 66.
83. ibid IV. 68.
84. ibid IV. 70.
85. Saun VIII. 31.

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86. ibid VIII. 35.
87. ibid VIII. 32.
88. ibid VIII. 33.
89. ibid VIII. 38.
90. ibid VIII. 40.
91. ibid VIII. 45.
92. ibid VIII. 56.
93. *Budh. char.* X 37.
94. ibid VI. 2.
95. ibid VII. 5.
96. Saun. VI. 90.
97. *Budh. char.* III. 45.
98. ibid V. 86.
99. Saun. V. 53.
101. *Budh. char.* III. 19.
101. Budd. III. 19.
102. ibid IV. 36.
103. ibid V. 62.
104. ibid V. 49.
105. ibid VIII. 71.
106. ibid IV. 48.
107. ibid IV. 46.
108. Saun. VII. 6.
109. ibid VII. 7.
110. Johnston. Introduction. P. xcv.
111. The text was edited by Senart in 3 Vols. Paris 1882-1897 with detailed surveys of the contents in the Introductions. A survey of the contents is also given by Rajendra Lal Mitra in his *Sanskrit Buddhist Literature of Nepal*, pp. 115-161; and also by B.C. Law—in his work—*Mahāvastu*—two parts. It has been translated by Jones in English 3 Vols. See also Poussain in ERE VIII, 328 ff; HP Sastri in IHO. 1925. p. 202 ff. *Barth in Revue de l'histire des Religions.* Paris, II 1885, 160 ff; 42, 1900, 51 ff. and *Journal des Savants* 1899, 450 ff.; Windisch *Die Komposition des Mahāvastu*, ASGW. xxvii, 1909, 467-511; Winternitz: *History of Indian Literature*, Vol. II, pp. 239 ff.
112. Vol. I p. 159.
113. Oldenberg ZDMG. 52. p. 633.
114. Vol. I p. 76.
115. Op. cit. II p. 247.
116. I. 351 ff.
117. Foucher: *L'art Greco-Bouddhique du Gandhāra* I, p. 622.
118. III p. 178.
119. III p. 442.
120. EI. XXI and p. 55.
121. *Maha* III p. 443, Luders List No. 1137.
122. I p. 135.
123. II. p. 82.
124. I. p. 245.
125. XVIII. 59.
126. II. p. 90.
127. Keith in his Foreword to Law's—*A Study of the Mahāvastu*—Supplement. cf *Sastri*—IHQ. I. 1925 p. 205. He places the earliest limit in the 3rd or 2nd Century B.C.
128. *History of Indian Literature* II, p. 209 ff.
129. I. pp. 54 ff.
130. ibid pp. 91 ff.
131. ibid pp. 317 ff.
132. ibid pp. 163 ff.
133. II p. 362.
134. First edited by Rajendralal Mitra in *Bib Ind.* 1877; later on by S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902 and 1908; Weller, *Zum Lalita-vistara* Leipzig. 1915; English translation by Mitra (Bib. Ind. 1881-1886) as far as Chapter XV, partially translated (I-V) in German by Lefmann, and in French by Foucaux in AMG (Paris 1884), Winternitz—*Op. cit;* II p. 248 ff.

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135. Cf. Beal—*The Romantic Legend of Śākya—Buddha from the Chinese Sanskrit*, London 1875. It is an abridged translation from the Chinese of the *Abhinishkramana Sūtra*, which has not come down in Sanskrit, but was translated into Chinese between A.D. 280 and 312 by Nie-Tao-Tchen, and in 587 A.D. by Jinagupta (Winternitz op. cit. p. 248 n. quoting Bagchi—*Le Canon Bouddhique*.
136. Winternitz—*op. cit.* p. 254.
137. Foucher—*L'art*—Vol. I p. 324.
138. Winternitz—op. cit. p. 255.
139. Sennart: *Essai sur la Legende du Buddha*, p. xxxi, Winternitz Op. cit. p. 255.
140. Poussain—*Bouddhisme*, pp. 37 ff.
141. Kern: SBE. 21 pp. xi ff.
142. JA. 1892, s. 8 p. xix, Winternitz—Op. cit. p. 250.
143. On the Avadāna in general see Burnouf: *Introduction à l' histoire du Bouddhisme*, p. 207 ff.; Feer in the introduction to his translation, and Speyer in the foreword to his edition of the *Avadana Śataka*. Vol. II, Winternitz. *History of Indian literature* II, p. 277 ff. Keith—*History of Sanskrit Literature*, pp. 64 ff.
144. Edited by J.S. Speyer (Bibliotheca Budhica III) St. Petersberg 1902-1909; Translated into French by Feer (*Annals du Museé Guimet* (Paris) 1897. Some sections were translated by him in JA, 1878-1884): Winternitz—*History of Indian Literature* Vol. II p. 279 ff. Keith: *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 65 ff.
145. LXXVII Vol. I, p. 77; LXXXVIII, p. 102.
146. Edited by E.B. Cowell and R.A. Neil, Cambridge 1886. Long passages from it were translated by Burnouf in his '*Introduction à l'histoire du Bouddhisme Indian*, notes on the text by Speyer in WKM 16, 1902, 103 ff, 340 ff; *Studies in the Divyāvadāna* by James R. Ware. JAOS 48, 1929, 159 ff; Rajendralata Mitra—*Sans. Budd. Lit* from Nepal pp. 304-316. Winternitz *History of Indian Literature* II, pp. 284 ff.
147. p. 333.12.
148. p. 99.3.
149. p. 35.1.
150. Winternitz—Op. cit. II, p. 285.
151. Keith—(quoting Przyluski) Op. cit. p. 66.
152. BEFEO 4, 1904, pp. 709 ff; 6, 1906, pp. 1 ff.; cf. Speyer—*Avadānaśataka*—II Preface pp. XVI ff: also Gawronski: *Studies about the Sanskrit Buddhist Literature*, pp. 49 ff.
153. *Les elements de formation du Divyāvadāna* in Toung Pao S. II Vol. VIII, 1907, pp. 105 ff.
154. DIV. pp. 408-45; *Budh. Char.* III. 4-5.
155. ZDMG. 52, p. 638.
156. Edited by Kern and Bunyu Nanjio. *Bibliotheca Buddhica*, X, St. Petersberg. 1908, translated into French (*Le Lotus de la bonne loi*) by E. Burnouf, Paris 1852, into English by Kern in SBE, Vol. 21, 1884. According to Anesaki, (*Buddhist Art in its Relations to Buddhist Ideals* 1914, p. 15 ff.)—Lotus is a symbol of purity and perfection because it grows out of mud but is not delined—hence this title.
157. Kern. SBE. 21 pp. X ff.
158. Winternitz—op. cit. p. 304; cf. Bagchi—*La Canon Boudhique* I pp. 87, 150 etc. The Central Asian fragments of this work were published by Hoernle and Lüders in *Manuscript Remains* pp. 132 ff. 138 ff., also Poussain. JRAS. 1911, p. 1067 ff. Bendall ascribes a Nepalese MS of this work which he discovered to the 4th or 5th century (JRAS, 1901 p. 124 note).
159. Eliot—*Hinduism & Buddhism* II, p. 52.
160. II. 86.
161. Anesaki—Op. cit.
162. ERE. II p. 259 ff.
163. Chap. III SBE 21, p. 47 ff.
164. Chap. V, pp. 129 ff.
165. Ibid, pp. 119 ff, 122 ff, 128 ff.
166. Winternitz thought it risky to assume that "The Lotus" was directly influenced by the Krishna-cult, the Vedānta and the *Bhagavad-Gītā*, as assumed by Faruqhar (*Outline of the Rel. Lit. of India*, p. 114); Kern was the first scholar to notice similarity between the Buddhist and Brahmanical outlook centring round the personality of the Buddhist Lord, capable of helping all creatures representing the highest mind or *Brahma. Preface* SBE. 21. p. xxvi.

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167. Winternitz—Op. cit. p. 311 ff.
168. ERE VIII. pp. 63 ff.
169. Op. cit. p. 173.
170. SBE 35 p. XIV.
171. Spect et Levi—*Transactions of the International Congress of Orientalists*, IX. London 1892. I p. 518 ff. In a Chinese Buddhist Avadāna work of 472 A.D., the introductory book of the *Milindapañha*, embellished with anecdotes, appears as an independent story, which has the appearance of a late echo of the old dialogue (Takakusu JRAS. 1896, pp. 1-21 quoted by Winternitz. Op. cit p. 177 n.
172. Ed. by Trenckner, London 1880. translated by Rhys Davids in SBE Vols. 35 and 36, into German (only the genuine parts) by F.O. Schrader (Berlin 1908) cf. Rhys Davids in ERE VIII. pp. 631 ff., Winternitz—O. cit. pp. 174 ff.
173. SBE—35. p. xxxix.
174. I. 173.
175. Op. cit.
176. Eliot: Hinduism and Buddhism II p. 85.

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CHAPTER XI

ART AND ARCHITECTURE

India under the Kushāṇas was equally notable for the contributions made in the realm of art and architecture. Two divergent currents from different source traditions swept over the western and eastern parts of the Kushāṇa empire. Exclusive in character, refined in presentation, and derived from different sources, the art productions of the two schools have nothing in common save the theme—the presentation of the image of the Buddha, the stories connected with his life as the Śākyan prince, his conception, birth, renunciation, enlightenment, the first sermon at the deer park, his activities as an evangelist culminating in his *Parinirvāṇa*. The sculptors did not stop here. They were equally interested in depicting the Jātaka stories connected with the Buddha in his previous births, the Bodhisattvas in the process of enlightenment, and numerous other divinities connected with Buddhism, including Brahma, Indra, Pañchaka and Harītī. While Buddhism was the main, or one should say the only theme of the sculptors in the north-western region, popularly known as Gandhāra, the eastern part of the Kushāṇa empire manifested a different artistic outlook based on indigenous traditions. Here the *Śailarūpakāras* or sculptors placed their services at the disposal of all the religions. The Kushāṇa rulers were patrons of art, and catholic and broadminded in their outlook, thus encouraging the court artists to carve out statues of themselves and their predecessors and of other dignitaries, and also contribute with the art productions in the sphere of religion. It is likely that foreign artists displayed their talents in the north-west at the behest of their masters, but it is not improbable that some productions were the outcome of the urge from within, consequent to their adoption of the religion of the Tathāgata. The image of the Buddha was the outcome of the artistic quests at both the centres.

Gandhāra Art: The term Gandhāra art embraces all the productions in a particular area, known in early times as Gandhāra,[1] within a definite time scale and of a particular material. This brings in the question of its *terminus ad quem* and *terminus a quo* with the role of the Kushāṇas in it. The subject is not a *terra incognita*. For the last one century or more, scholars have expressed views of a divergent nature,[2] and the other name given to it—Graeco-Buddhist—is now changed into Romano-Buddhist. What was considered by a set of scholars to be the decadent phase of this art, is now

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presumed to be its efflorescent stage. In its origin the Gandhāra art is considered to be a mixture of Graeco-Roman Indian forms that for a period from the second century to the fourth century A.D. gave way to a definitely classical style. This strongly Roman Palmyrene style is submerged in the last phase of the Graeco-Buddhist art in a completely Indian type of sculpture corresponding to the work of the Gupta period.[3] On the other hand, Gandhāra art iconographically in part is considered almost altogether a local phase of Hellenistic not Roman art. The latter is supposed to be the cousin and not the parent of Gandhāra art, descending from the art of the Greek period in Afghanistan and Punjab, and applied to themes of Indian origin. It is well-described from one point of view as an eastern expansion of Hellenistic civilization mixed with Indian elements, and from another as a western expansion of Indian culture in a western garb. It is true that Hellenistic motifs are noticed in Gandhāra art, as for example, Persepolitan capital and merlon crenellation and fantastic monsters like the sphinx and gryphon, which, according to Rowland,[4] were assimilated in ancient Indian schools. Other forms, such as the atlantids, garland-bearing erotes and semi-human creatures like the centaur, triton, and hippocamp, were all parts of the Hellenist art introduced by the Romanised Eurasian artists in the service of the Kushāṇa court. Objects of unquestioned foreign origin have also been found in the Gandhāra region at various parts, including the statue of Harpocrates and Dionysius at Sirkap in Taxila, a bronze Herakles from Nigrai, now in the British Museum, and steatite plaques or cosmetic dishes with erotic scenes, popularly known as toilet trays found in large numbers at Taxila. Syrian glass and Roman metal and stucco sculptures found at Begram are supposed to point to an intimate relation—cultural and commercial—between Gandhāra and Rome. According to Rowland, once again, it is not difficult to find in all collections of Gandhāra sculpture fragments resembling Roman workmanship of all periods from the time of Flavians, Kanishka's contemporaries, to the very last style of Roman sculpture of the fourth century, usually designated as late Antique. The foreign influence on Gandhāra art is accepted. In fact, it has been suggested that the greater the Greek influence the older the object, and the most Indianised the latest. Arrangement by localities is impossible, as there is no evidence of local variations in style. On the other hand, the general style over the whole region is fairly uniform. All the sculptures are Buddhist, and there is no trace of works of pure Gandhāra school dedicated to either Jainism or Hinduism. The subject matter is Buddhist, despite the garb in which it might have been depicted. The Buddha figure dominates every conception.

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The Buddha image: The origin of the Buddha image[6] in Gandhāra art is the crucial point in determining its beginning. As the Gandhāra artists never portrayed his presence with symbols, the human form given to him is the very beginning of the artistic activity of this school. They had to fall back on some tradition in giving him an image which could be the subject of veneration. Unfortunately their counterparts in the east were not in a position to present an accepted formulae. They were also striving in this direction. The earliest Buddha image in Gandhāra can be noticed on the reliquary of Kaniska, discovered by Spooner at Shah-ji-ki-dheri, near Peshwar.[7] Some scholars think the Buddha of Bimran reliquary[8] to be the earliest figure carved in Gandhāra. Under ogives, figures are seen of which one is that of the Buddha. His right hand is lifted in *abhayamudrā* in front of the chest. The *ushṇīsha* on his head, and the moustache on his face are notable. The other two figures are supposed to be Brahma and Indra or Śakra. As regards Kanishka's casket, it is ornamented with representations with reliefs of garland-bearing erotes, and a sovereign supposed to be Kanishka, between the divinities of the sun and the moon. On the side of the lid is a zone of geese or *haṅsa*. To the top of the cover are fastened free-standing statuettes of the Buddha flanked by Indra and Brahma.[9] A Greek architect Agiśala (Agesilos) is associated with this object. The date of this reliquary associated with Kanishka, and recovered from the site of the ancient tower set up by Kanishka, thus appears certain. The Bimran reliquary, on the other hand, recovered from the ruins of a stūpa from this place near Jelalabad in Afghanistan by Masson, was associated with a few coins of Azes. That suggests that it was not deposited earlier than the time of Azes, though it could have been placed much later than the time of this ruler when his coins were in circulation.

The figure of the Buddha is also depicted on the coins of Kanishka. Four such unique coins are noticed.[10] The gold one shows on the obverse King Kanishka standing in front of an altar, and on the reverse the Buddha. The latter is haloed and is clad in the *saṅghatī*.[11] The right hand is most likely in the posture of protection, and the left holds a fold of the drapery. To the left the inscription in Greek Boddo establishes the identity of the figure. The other three coins associated with Buddha are of copper. One is similar to the design of the gold coin, with the figure of Kanishka and the standing Buddha.[12] The other two present an image of the seated Buddha in the same posture of protection-*abhayamudrā*.[13] Tarn presumes[14] that we have a regular sequence of the earliest Buddha statue from Maues. Kujula Kadphises and Kanishka. The depiction of the Tathāgata both in standing and in seated forms in

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the attitude of protection in Gandhāra can, therefore, be presumed to have really begun under the Kushāṇas, although a few stray attempts might have been made earlier. Psychologically and culturally, the artists tried to portray him according to their own ideas and circumstances. The Apollo like face of the Buddha clad in the Toga with the cranial protuberance on his head, is contrary to the Indian conception perfected in Mathurā art. There it is the shaven head of the monk dressed in *dhoti,* its folds falling over the left shoulder, as we find in the figure set up by Friar Bala at Sārnāth. The attitude or *mudrā,* however, is the same. Thus, in Gandhāra Buddha appeared just a beautiful man with a shaven face. The Greek Apollo type Buddha clad in drapery, 'suggestive of Imperial-draped statues of the first century A.D. in Rome, and the top knot or Krobylos of the Greek sun-god', point to a synthesis in the Graeco-Roman iconographic disciplines in portraying the figures of the Buddha. In the representation of the Śākyamuni in the characteristic Yogic posture,[15] these artists had no prototype before them. They probably depended on actual observation of Indian ascetics.

It appears that the Gandhāra artists carved out statues of the Buddha, according to their conceptions, giving him a beautiful appearance. This is wanting on the reliquary from the Shah-ji-ki dheri. This led some scholars to presume that the art had declined under Kanishka. It must not, however, be forgotten that the artist here was not working on the blue schist or any other stone, but on a metal or an amalgam of metals. The *tāmrakuṭṭaka* was different from the *śailarūpakāra.* The two worked under different disciplines. It is, therefore, difficult to measure the artistic merit of productions in different materials with the same standard. The artists working on stone on a mass scale were expected to produce finer specimens, while those working on a limited scale had naturally little practice.

Bodhisattvas: Besides carving out the Buddha image, the Gandhāra artist also carved out the Bodhisattva type—the Buddha in the making. Unlike the one in the Mathurā school, that of Gandhāra is shown in Royal attire with elaborate head-dress and ornaments. The style of the Bodhisattva images in Gandhāra is presumed[17] to be a mixture of techniques; the stiff swallow tail-folds of the *dhotī* are taken as an adaptation of the neo-Attic style that flourished in Rome under Hadrian. The face carving varies from imitation of Roman models. According to Marshall,[18] a figure 16' high, wearing a *dhotī,* shawl, and bracelets, with the left hand resting on the hip, and the right one raised in front of the breast, with the fingers in the *chin-mudrā* or *jñāna-mudrā,* denoting meditation, knowledge and purity, is the earliest image of the Bodhisattva. Marshall presumed

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that the image is intended to portray the Bodhisattva after his enlightenment. The head and feet of the figure are missing.

Siddārtha, the Śākya, figures prominently as an Indian prince in Gandhāra sculptures. Several such images have been found, some might be that of Maitreya[19] in the absence of the broken part. The water flask, wherever present, is a definite indication of the latter. The Bodhisattva Śiddhārtha is shown both standing,[20] as well as in meditation[21] and also in the company of worshippers.[22] The dress is the same. The rippling folds are notable in the majority of the Bodhisattva images dressed in dhotī below on the left, while to the right is a typical mixture of zigzag and angular folds.[23] The head dress is sometimes very artistic,[24] combining a 'good example of the meeting of eastern and western influences'. The Greek influence is apparent in the modelling of the head, and the Indian spirit manifests itself in the sumptuous head-dress. Strings of pearls continuing over the top of the head connect the outer diadem to the beaded band at the base of the *ushṇīsha*.[25] The Bodhisattva Siddhārtha in meditation[26] from the Peshawar Museum is a beautiful illustration of the Śākyan prince striving for the salvation of the humanity through meditation. It contains at the base scenes connected with his life. The head-dress is more ornate, consisting of a diadem, strings of pearls, a large round medallion with a tapering tenon.[27] The meditation figure of the Bodhisattva Siddhārtha from the Lahore Museum[28] is equally interesting. A foreign donor dressed in a sleeved caftan and long trousers, holding a bowl in his right hand, to the right of the Bodhisattva figure, symbolises some donation.

In the world of the Buddha and Buddhism, the Bodhisattva Maitreya, the future Buddha, stands prominent in Gandhāra art. Several statues of this divinity-standing and sitting in meditation, in attitudes of protection and contemplation, have been found. The water flask is the distinguishing attribute of this Bodhisattva in both standing and sitting postures. The Maitreya from Takht-i-Bahai, now in the Lahore Museum[29] is more bejewelled. The moustached figure with his jewelled *ushṇīsha* with a central tapering tension is dressed in *dhotī* with the thin, rounded, or angular ridges. The scarf or shawl is thrown in ridges over the left shoulder covering the upper part of the hand which holds the water flask. Besides two necklaces and an amulet carrier, there is a new piece of jewellery on the chest, and a jewelled chain passes from the left shoulder across the right upper arm. The Maitreya in meditation from Lahore[30] has the water flask hanging from the index and third fingers of his left hand. The folds of the dhotī are indicated by paired parallel lines. A worshipper kneels on the front of the base, and

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another on the left, with an object of their worship, probably the fine altar in the middle. A similar scene is represented elsewhere on the base of statues of this Bodhisattva from Sahri-Bahlol[31] and elsewhere,[32] and on that of a seated Buddha statue.[33] Maitreya is also depicted seated in the reassuring pose,[34] surrounded by worshippers in different dresses suggesting their nationality.[35] The preaching Maitreya (*dharmachakra-pravartana*) also figures in Gandhāra art,[36] although it becomes difficult to fit in his water flask in this posture which is placed in the centre of the base. In one sculpture from the Peshawar Museum he is shown seated with his left foot resting firmly on the ground, while the right is drawn up.[37] The peculiar dress of the female worshippers flanking him in their trailing robes,[38] wearing triangular head dress, decorated with crossed line, is an interesting feature in this sculpture.

The Bodhisattvas Avalokiteśvara and Padmapāni are also depicted in Gandhāra art, although they were not so popular with the artists. Only a few figures of these Bodhisattvas are found. The crest of the head dress of the Bodhisattva Avalokiteśvara contains the seated image of the Buddha in meditation.[39] The Bodhisattva carries the lotus flower in his hand.[40] The Bodhisattva figures are depicted with the qualities of youth, suggesting noble birth and character, with a strong religious feeling of doing good to the world, rather than striving for individual salvation.

Buddha's life and Jātaka stories: As Buddha forms the central figure in Gandhāra art, events connected with his life from the conception to the renunciation, ascetic penances reducing his body to a mere skeleton, the attack by Māra, the god of evil, his enlightenment under the Bodhi tree, the first sermon at the deer park, his missionary career, and his *Parinirvāṇa,* with Ānanda by his side along with a host of disciples, and finally the scene of cremation are all faithfully depicted in Gandhāra art. It would mean merely cataloguing the various motifs connected with the Buddha's life, but we may take into consideration a few scenes portrayed in a realistic manner. The great renunciation and farewell, the emaciated Buddha, and the death scene might be briefly noticed here.

The great renunciation has to be viewed with the background of the life in the palace. The prince reclines[41] on a couch, fanned and entertained by female attendants with music and dance, and his lady seated on the edge of the couch. In the fateful scene of the Departure on the lower pannel, Yaśodharā is fast asleep on the couch. The two female attendants are also overpowered into sleep. Siddhārtha steps down from his couch, while to his left his groom Chandaka holds Kaṇṭhaka, the royal steed. In another scene.[42]

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the prince rides the horse with the groom holding the royal umbrella. To the left is Vajrapāni with the face like that of a bearded Herades.

The emaciated Buddha scene from Sikri[43] in which physical austerities reduced his body to a living skeleton is one of the best peices of Gandhāra art. The artist might not have conformed to the anatomical details but one can hardly question his success in depicting the real emaciated prince. The ribs and veins are clearly brought out. The belly is reduced to a deep cavity, but the serenity on the face is an indication of his strong determination.

The death of the Tathāgata is depicted in several panels. The one in the Peshawar Museum, from Mardan, shows him lying on a couch with a decorated blanket covering the mattress. The bearded Vajrapāni stands at the left, while Ananda has buried his face in his hands. The other figures—monks and princes—are in intense grief. This scene is noted for its realism, bringing out real grief at the *Parinirvāṇa* of the Tathāgata.

Among the Jātaka stories, connected with the previous births of the Lord—two deserve special notice, the Dīpāṅkara[45] and Śibi[46] Jātakas, and the offering of the handful dust scene. In the first scene, Sumati is shown prostrating himself before the Dīpāṅkara Buddha, letting his long hair down, spreading it over the mud to enable the Lord to cross over without soiling his feet. As prince Viśvantara, he realises on earth the perfection of charity. Pouring water on the Brahmin's hand, the prince accords sanctity to the gift, and leaves his paternal kingdom.[47] The offering of a handful of dust by two small boys playing on the street is an evidence of childish act of piety, well-depicted in this sculpture.[48]

Other Divinities: The Gandhāra artists carved out statues of other divinities connected with Buddhism. The famous large statue of Pañchika-Kubera[49] is the most striking piece showing the moustached personage seated in European fashion on a throne,[50] with his left foot on a footstool, and his left hand grasping a spear. The jewelled turban, ear ornaments, and bracelets signify his richness. Two standing children to his left are supposed to indicate the fertility aspect in his character. His consort Harītī figures independently with her children hugging on to her, as well as with Pañchika. The famous statue of this converted ogress from Sikri[51] is dressed in a *sārī* covering her solid body, of which the folds are shown by an alternation of accentuated ridges. The two to-gether from Peshawar are portrayed seated in a European way. Pañchika's moustache is different and so also his head-dress. His hands are broken and the chest chain is missing. Harītī shows no change except in the head-

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dress. Five children press for her attention, including the infant sucking her breast.

Brahma and Indra (Sakra) are the only two Brahmanical divinities figuring in Gandhara art. Besides the Kanishka's casket, they are also noticed elsewhere, but never independently. The artists have depicted a few secular scenes as well. The Bacchanalian ones might be traced to foreign influence, but there is no doubt that dancing and merrymaking scenes are common in Mathurā art as well. Marshall presumes[52] that the drinking scene was much too popular to be so easily suppressed. We find it occurring time and again in later reliefs of the Gandhāra school. He draws attention to a good illustration of such scenes, of a purely Hellenistic character.[53] Here the drinking party comprises of nine figures—four male and five female. The former are dressed in short *chiton* or a simple *himation*, leaving the upper part of the body bare. The women put on a long *chiton* and *himation*.

Besides the purely Indian themes—divinities and scenes from the Jātakas,—the Gandhāra artists also carved out figures of Greek and other foreign divinities. Since it is difficult to date these stylistically or on other grounds, we can only presume in analogy to divinities on the Kushāṇa coins, that encouragement might have been afforded to the artists to carve out the figures of the foreign divinities in stone as well. These include Āthena-Roma[54] Harpocrates[55] the centaurs[56], the Silenus[57], Farro and Ardoksho who are supposed to be the Kushāṇa interpretations of Pañchika and Harītī, Demeter Hariti,[60] the Atlantes,[61] the marine deities, and the Amohini Yakshas[63] who are presumed to suggest the growing Indianisation. Nāgas,[64] Garuḍa, the mythical bird,[65] Yakshas and Yakshīs, Kinnaras and Gandharvas[67] also figure in Gandhāra art, within the indeterminable time chart of this school.

Architecture: The history of the architecture in Gandhāra is characterised by the use of different orders, floral designs, and animal motifs in decoration. The architects displayed their talents in building stūpas and vihāras and ornamenting these with floral designs. The chitya-window arch, and the railings are of a different model taken from the west. The plan of the sites, stones, capitals and pillars, are the only things left of the once munificient structures set up in that region. The once famous stupa in Gandhāra, in the shape of the tower raised by Kanishka near Peshawar to a height of 700′ in thirteen stories, according to Hiuen-tsang, was the greatest architectural achievement of this period. The miniature stūpa of tower like proportions from Taxila might give an idea of the original stūpa of Kanishka.[68]

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The corinthian columns, pilasters, and capitals are modified in Gandhāra art. The introduction of the figure of the Buddha and Bodhisattvas into the foliage is a new feature suggesting indianisation of the Greek order. The acanthus leaves are also noticed in architectural designs. The Corinthian order dominates in Gandhāra architecture with the absence of Doric and Ionic ones. Attempt has been made by Marshall[69] to set up a chronology of the Gandhāra architecture on the basis of the types of masonry in buildings at Taxila—rubble being used before the Kushāṇas, diaper under the Kushaṇas, and ashlar alternating with layer of rubble in the latest type.

The Gandhāra art is not free from controversy. Indian iconography dominates, but foreign elements are conspicuous. In fact the Hellenistic—Roman elements are supposed to form the basis for the artist's conceptions and designs. The extent of foreign influence is noticed in the Apollo-faced figure of the Buddha, in the dress-*chiton* and *himation*, in the corinthian orders, and floral decorations; and, in fact, some foreign divinities also figure in this art. These might have been the earlier contributions of the Gandhāra artists, but the time factor was important. The ultimate Indianisation was the test of the age. It is probable that the Gandhāra artists helped their counter-parts at Mathurā, and they too might have been inspired in return. This may have happened under the Kushāṇas, whose empire included both these regions of artistic activities. The Kushāṇa rulers patronised these artists, and mutual understanding in some form or the other is not ruled out. It is a pity that there was no synthesis in the artistic traditions in this period., although the *halo* and the folds of drapery at Mathurā might have been connected or borrowed to some extent from Gandhāra. It is very likely that Buddhist iconography while dominating at Gandhāra might have accepted certain inonographic concepts of the west—from Greece or Rome, or both. Attempts have been made to classify and date Gandhāra sculptures on stylistic basis. The latest attempt is by Harold Ingholt[70] who classifies these into four groups. Group I is considered to have lasted from A.D. 144-240, from the accession of Kanishka to the conquest of Shapur I. Group II is of shorter duration from 240-300. Group III spans a whole century, 300-400, and Group IV includes the last sixty years of the region's independence. During the first period, the art is marked by Hellenistic influences from Parthian Mesopotamia. In Group II Sassanian influences come to the fore, and in Group III, a new wave of influences enter the country from Mathurā. The last group, finally, sees Sassanian influences reappear. It may, however, be suggested that neither stylistic considerations, nor the dated Buddha images from Loriyan Tangai or Hastnagar, or that of Harītī could in any way be helpful in fixing up the

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chronological framework of Gandhāra. One thing, however, appears certain: Kanishka's association with the Gandhāra art has to be traced to its efflorescent stage than to its beginning, or the end of it. Such an artistic activity on a grand scale could only be possible in an era of peace and prosperity in a far-flung empire under the tolerant and broad-minded rulers whose subjects belonged to different nationalities. Their attempt to portray divinities from different pantheons on their coins, stands in analogy to the artists of different traditions making their contributions under the patronage of these benign rulers. Buddha and Buddhism dominate Gandhāra art, but the western influence is very conspicious. Whether it was the eastern influence of the Western art, or the western expansion of the Eastern art, the core of the contribution nevertheless is Indian.

Mathurā Art; Mathurā under the Kushāṇas became the most prolific centre of art production. A carefully devised policy emanating from the Kushāṇa emperors was responsible for abundant architectural output. The different native currents of religious traditions were amalgamated by the sculptors—the worship of Kubera with the attendant Yakshas and Yakshīs, Vrikshas and Pushpabhañjikas on the one hand, and the worship of the Buddha-Bodhi sattva on the other hand. The sculptors were secular in their approach. They carved out beautiful figures of Buddha-Bodhisattvas, the Brahmanical divinities, like Vishṇu, Sūrya and Śiva, of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, Kubera, Yakshas, and Nāgas with their female counterparts. For the first time in this period the Buddha figure was carved out on the red stone, not with Apollo like face, wavy locks and ample folded robe, as in the Gandhāra art, but as a shaven-monk in his *saṅghāṭī* offering protection to the world with his monumental yet dignified personality. The art retained its non-sectarian character. It was not meant to cater primarily to the Buddhist patrons. It served the ends of all the three religious cults—Buddhism, Jainism and Brahmanism. Śiva, Vishṇu, Sūrya, Durgā, Sapta-matrikās, and hosts of other Brahmanical divinities engaged as much the attention of the sculptors, as they would have done for the statues of Buddha-Bodhisattvas, in bold design and high reliefs, or of the Jain Tirthankaras.

The Mathurā sculptors, called *Śailarūpakāras*, presented the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures to Sārnāth, Śrāvastī and other centres. The sculptures there were either importations from Mathurā, or were locally produced by the artists imported from Mathurā on red sand stone. It was suggested by Cunningham[71] that there was a small body of Bactrian artists who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathurā, which view was rejected by Growse. The latter presumed that Mathurā represented a school of art based on

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indigenous traditions. The export of artists from Mathurā could only be possible if the centre itself was of standing with a tradition of its own. It had littte in common with Gandhāra. The subject matter is essentially Indian. The Mathurā art under the Kushāṇas was a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī. Some trace of foreign influence, like the Silenius, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, and the Gandhāra queen of blue schist, might be solitary instances suggesting contact with Gandhāra.

The Indian character is more clearly expressed in carved railings with the female figures standing by trees, or on balconies, and often on dwarf in prostrate. The decorative medallions with rosettes, fantastic animals and sacred symbols can be traced in earlier Indian monuments. The coping stones of the railings decorated with borders of conventional floral designs, sometimes interpersed with animals, and occasionally surmounted by a narrow band of bells, are similar to those found on the coping stones of the Bhārhut railings. The cross bars bearing rosettes, the *toraṇas* on *ayāgapaṭas*, do not differ from those of Bhārhut. It is, thus, clear that the Kushāṇa art in Mathurā did not alienate itself from the earlier traditions of Indian art, while the sculptors were busy in devising the figure of the Buddha in harmony with the Indian ideal of a monk.

The Royal Portraits: The portraits of the Kushāṇa rulers Kanishka and Vamataksha, and nobles, found at the ancient site of Māt in 1911 by Radhakrishna, and the reference to *devakulas* in Māt inscriptions, suggest that there was a portrait gallery of kings and nobles associated with those of divinities at that place. The statue of Kanishka[72] recovered from the Tokri tīlā, in the village of Māt, about 9 miles north of Mathurā is the best specimen of the portrait art patronised by the Kushāṇa emperors. The king stands with his right hand resting on a mace and the left clasping the hilt of the sword. He is clad in a tunic reaching down to the knees, and held round the loins by means of a girdle of which only two square plaques are visible in front. The folds of the robes are indicated by highly engraved lines. Heavy boots with straps round the ankles are most conspicuous. The sword's long hilt is decorated on the top with the swan's head. The sheath with the broken point is decorated with three plaques. The long mace (3′.5″) is strengthened with five bands clearly shown in the sculpture, It might have symbolised the royal sceptre. Smartness and strict symmetry with a realistic pose, are the main characteristics of this free-standing figure. The Brāhmī inscription leaves no doubt regarding the identity of this ruler.

The other statue of the Kushāṇa ruler, mentioned in the record as Kushāṇaputra Vamatakshama.[73] shows the king seated on a

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throne (*simhāsana*) with the lion figures in the front. His right hand is raised in front of the breast holding a sword of which only portions of the hilt are traceable, and the left hand rests on the scabbard laid across the knees. The enthroned monarch is dressed in a long sleeved tunic with a richly embroidered border shown running down the breast. The tunic is covered with little rosettes. The figure is wearing a torque and thin bracelets round the waist. The heavy top boots are decorated with a band of vine patterns, a strap round each boot beneath the ankles, and a second one under the heels.

Besides the two statues of the Kushāṇa rulers, the pedestal of a standing figure[74], with only the feet wearing padded boots fastened with straps, bears an inscription engraved between the feet referring to an officer (*mahādaṇḍanāyaka*). His figure appears to have been carved in stone, represented by this pedestal. Another figure[75] with the head and feet lost, was also obtained from Māt. It is dressed in a close-fitting coat and trousers. Over the coat is an ornamental girdle with a central pendant. Detached heads[76] from Māt include one of buff-stone. Another wearing a high conical hat,[77] similar to other Kushāṇa heads,[78] was found at Palikhera. The Royal statues and detached heads of the nobles were carved out of red sand stone and suggest that the Royalty and the élite encouraged sculptors. Similar statues of the nobles and of the Kushāṇa monarchs, without inscriptions were also found at Surkh Kotal in Afghanistan, at the other end of the Kushāṇa empire. Schlumberger and Kieffer[79] have drawn attention to certain common features in these statues of different types of stones, thus making a comparative study. The statue of Kanishka from Māt is similar to one (No. 2) having the same attitude standing with the feet turned out as on the coinage. The emperor seated on a lion throne allows comparison with the one at Surkh Kotal.[80] There are certain differences also, as for example, in the rough bracket view of the Māt Kanishka statue without any waist, and in the variation in the degree of frontality.

Buddha-Bodhisattva: The Kushāṇa artists made the first attempt to carve out the figure of the Buddha who was represented in the Śuṅga art with symbols. They did not distinguish between the two, as we find in the Gandhāra art. To all appearances both the names signified the same shaven-headed monk, without curls, with no *ūrṇa*, and no moustache. Even the *ushṇīsha*, wherever preserved, is spiral. The figure is either in very high relief, or in the round, in the attitude of protection, signified by raising the right hand both in the standing as well as in the sitting postures. The left hand in the standing figures is often clenched symbolising stability. It also supports the folds of the robe which leaves the right shoulder

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bare. The drapery is arranged in schematic folds. In the sitting posture the seat is always a lion's throne, and not the lotus, as one finds in Gandhāra. Sometimes the seated lion is placed between the feet of the standing figure. The figures show enormous energy rather than calmness. The nimbus is plain or scalloped at the edge in low relief. The Buddha-Bodhisattva figures are more akin to the Yaksha figures of the pre-Kushāṇa art of Mathurā for their massiveness, boldness, and masculine character. As Vogel rightly suggests,[81] 'the type can not be derived from any known class of images in Gandhāra.' It is a product of the native school and related to the indigenous tradition. The image of the Buddha was created at Mathurā independently of the attempt made at the other end, and it was done to meet the wishes and requirements of the votaries of the Tathāgata. The artists were not experimenting with the data supplied from Gandhāra.[82] They had to fall back on the Yaksha figures with suitable amends.

Coomaraswamy listed[83] the more important examples of the Buddha-Bodhisattva and Jina type—both seated and standing ones. The seated ones include the Bodhisattva from the Katra mound[84] with inscription, Buddha from Anyor,[85] headless with similar inscription, the one in the Boston Museum without inscription, Buddhas in relief of small size,[86] in the Mathurā Museum. The standing Buddha relief[87] from the same Museum, the life-size standing Bodhisattva, and the headless figure from the Ganeśa mound, now in the Lucknow Museum,[88] similar to the colossal standing Bodhisattva figure from Sārnāth and Śrāvastī dedicated by Friar[89] Bala, and a headless Bodhisattva figure, now in the Indian Museum Calcutta.[90] Bodhisattva statues from Mathurā were also recovered from Pātaliputra[91] and Sāñchī.[92] To this list may be added the Buddha figure from the latter place,[93] and fragment of a Kushāṇa Buddha pedestal from Rajgir.[94] Another Bodhisattva statue from Maholi (Mathurā) was noticed by Dr. Agrawal.[95] This statue made of spotted red sand stone and carved in the round, is almost a duplicate of the Sārnāth Bodhisattva image with the same particulars—the shaven head of a monk, *saṇghāṭi* leaving the right shoulder bare, clenched left fist at the waist, twice wound knotted girdle. A sejant lion between the Sarnath Bodhisattva is replaced by the lotus clusters. Although this image is undated, but an inscribed piece discovered sticking to its pedestal, dated in the year 92 suggests that the same Bodhisattva form continued till the end of Kanishka's family. The standing Bodhisattva image from Lakhnau (Aligarh), now in the Mathura Museum,[96] dated in the year 35 of Huvishka, belonging on stylistic ground to the same group is suggestive of a no-change pattern of Buddha-Bodhisattva figures during this long period of

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nearly a hundred years. We, however, find a different Bodhisattva wearing elaborate head-dress and ornaments, and seated cross-legged in the *dhyānamudrā*. To the right of the Bodhisattva are six male worshippers, and to the left five female. The male figures wear long tunics of the typical Kushāṇa type, held in with a belt above the hips. The females wear *sārīs* and bodices. The inscription on the pedestal of king Vaskushāṇa is dated in the year 22. The Bodhisattva figure from Mathurā[98] seated cross-legged in the attitude of meditation, with his head and right arm missing, wears a scarf thrown over the left shoulder and arm, and a *dhotī*, the ends of which are spread in front of the pedestal. The breasts and arms are decorated with profuse ornaments—the broad necklace fitted with buckles and the string of the amulet-holders under the right arm. There are bracelets on the upper arm and bangles in the lower one. Another Bodhisattva statue from Mathurā,[9] probably of Maitreya, judging from the alabastron or ointment vessel in his left hand may also be mentioned here. The hair is arranged in schematically treated curls. The figure is dressed in a long robe leaving the right breast and shoulder bare, with an upper garment hanging down from the left shoulder. The Bodhisattva figure wears ear pendants, a flat torque and necklace, and two bracelets round the left arm. It is similar to another figure of Maitreya.[100] The two images belong to the Kushāṇa period.

The Maholi Bodhisattva similar to the one set up by Friar Bala at Sārnāth and Śrāvastī makes it clear that there was apparently no deviation from the set formulae evolved by the early Kushāṇa sculptors at Mathurā. Here the Bodhisattva must be taken to be the Śākyan prince after renunciation and before enlightenment. Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw presumes[101] several stages in the development of Buddhist art in Mathurā on the basis of stylistic development of the image of the Buddha-Bodhisattva from a symmetrically garment to fan-like draperies, from covered legs and feet to uncovered one, and from the indication of the hair by the technique of semi-circular lines to that of snail-shell curls. It is clear that apparently there is not much change signifying different stylistic patterns in the carving of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures. Two sitting Buddha figures with the shoulders covered and with the spiral head-dress from Sitalghati and Sahet-Mahet respectively[102] are supposed to come in the North-west Indian scheme. Mrs. Leeuw further suggests that the peculiarity of the two Buddhas point to the nationalizing process which was taking place in the Buddha image influenced by Gandhāra.[103] The cast of the drapery at the first glance is an inaccurate copy of a north-western model. Sometimes the artist lapses into the indigenous art by indicating the drapery through a slight excavation of the stone. In

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both these statues, the regular corpulent form, common in the north-west, has been substituted for the Indian ideal of beauty. This fact is easily explained by Coomaraswamy that in certain directions a Hellenistic element, plastic and iconographic was absorbed into Indian art. The Mathurā sculptures, taken as a whole, have a very small fraction of Hellenistic influence. It may be suggested that in the orthodox model of the Buddha-Bodhisattva figures there was no change, though the artists may have made certain experiments here and there in drapery and ornamentation. The covering of both the shoulders with folds of drapery and the use of ornaments in a few Bodhisattva figures, and the spiral locks might have been experiments in this direction. Vogel had suggested[104] that in seated images atleast, the Mathurā sculptors of the early Kushāṇa period made no distinction between Gautama the Bodhisattva and Gautama the Buddha.

Life of the Buddha in Stone: Scenes of Buddha's life are depicted in bas-reliefs,—the birth,[105] renunciation, enlightenment,[106] descent from heaven,[107] first sermon in the deer park,[108] and his *Parinirvāṇa.*[109] Buddha is depicted in human form in all these scenes, replacing the symbols used in earlier sculptures. In the birth scene in the Lumbini garden, his mother Māyā is shown standing in the usual attitude, clasping the branch of the śāla tree with her right hand, supported by her sister. Indra receives the child on a cloth. The infant Buddha (or Bodhisattva) stands in the centre, with the two Nāga kings in the attitude of adoration. The great renunciation (*Mahābhinishkramaṇa*) scene shows the prince leaving his sleeping wife.[110] In the scene of enlightenment, Buddha is seated under the Bodhi tree in the touching the earth (*bhūmisparśamudrā*). In the descent from the heaven of the thirty-three gods, Buddha accompanied by Śakra (Indra) and Brahma, descends by the triple ladder. He turns the wheel of Law in his 'sermon in the deer park' scene. The end is depicted with the three mourning figures standing behind the coach on which Buddha lies under the Śāla tree. Vogel notices[111] the influence of Gandhāra in the dwarf-pilaster with Indo-Corinthian capital—the former commonly found to divide the different scenes. In one bas-relief[112] the visit of Indra to the Buddha in the Indraśilā cave is shown. The story of Romaka Jātaka is supposed to be depicted on a bas-relief.[113]

Jain statues: Statues of Jain Tīrthaṅkaras, some bearing dated inscriptions on their pedestals, have been found in Mathurā. The dated Jain images extend from the year 5 to 84, thus posing the question whether uniformity could be traced in these images, or they represent different stages? The dated images are seated in Padmāsana. The heads are generally missing. The one of Pārśvanātha from the

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Lucknow Museum[114] is well-preserved, canopied by the hood of the Nāgas. Jinas represented in relief on several *āyāgapaṭas* or tablets of homage from the Kaṅkālī tīlā, now in the Mathurā and Lucknow Museums, are represented in the same attitude. The dated broken images from Mathurā include one of the Jain Tīrthankara—Ādinātha or Rishabhanātha,[115] seated cross-legged in meditation. The heads and arms are missing, while the halo with the scalloped border is partly preserved. The Śrīvatsa symbol is prominent on the chest, while the wheel symbol figures on the palms of the hand and soles of the feet. An image of Vardhamāna dated in the year 35 from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, now in the Lucknow Museum[116] also deserves notice. Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw also considered[117] seven dated-Jina images—the head and nimbus of the six ones missing—all in the *dhyānamudrā* with the tips of the thumbs touching each other. The few standing Jina images of this period are worth noticing. The one from the Lucknow Museum dedicated by Kumāramitrā,[118] and dated in the year 15 shows on each of the four sides a standing naked Jina figure in a stiff frontal attitude, with the arms stretched along the body. Such images are called *pratimā-sarvatobhadrikā.* Another statue of this type[119] was dedicated by Sthirā, bearing an inscription dated in the year 22. We notice that the figures have spiral locks.

The Jain Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha also figures in the Mathurā art of this period.[120] The central figure of this Tīrthaṅkara is flanked on the right by a four-armed figure of a Nāgarāja with seven hoods. The figure to the left is that of the four-armed Vishṇu. The three figures stand under a canopy. A relief found by Führer at Kaṅkālī Tīlā, now in the Lucknow Museum, depicts Vardhamāna holding a devotional conversation with a king. Mrs. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw[121] questions the Jainistic character of this piece. Since it was found at the site of the ancient Jain stūpa, it would be really interesting if we agree with Führer, and find Vardhamāna dressed in dhotī, and in the attitude of protection. The Srīvatsa symbol is missing.

The tablets of homage (*āyāgapaṭa*) with the stūpa or the figure of the Jain Tīrthaṅkara in the centre were also carved out by the sculptures of this period. The famous sculpture[122] carved with a complete stūpa surrounded by a railing and approached by means of a flight of steps has also an ornamental gateway with the usual three architraves, and the worshipping figures. It was dedicated by the courtesan Loṇaśobhikā in honour of the Arhart Vardhamāna.[123]

It appears from the numerous finds of Jina statues and tablets of homage that the Jain donors considerably patronised the native artists. The statues—seated or standing—are portrayed nude in the usual *dhyānamudrā*, or with the hands falling down as *Sarvato-*

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bhadrapratimā, carved on all the four sides. The usual Srivatsa symbol on the chest, and the chakra on the palm and feet are characteristics of the Jain statues. The pedestal of these statues have devotional scenes which occur on the Buddhist images as well. The one bearing the inscription of the time of Vāsudeva shows between the two lions, a bas-relief representing a wheel of law and a number of worshippers arranged in two groups at both sides of it. These might be the actual donors.

Mathurā was an important centre of the Jains, and the several Jain stūpas must have been set up there. There does not seem to have been any foreign influence from Gandhāra, as neither the folds of drapery nor ornaments figure in Jain statues. These are more natural and the artist is interested in the geometrical pattern of the statue rather than in its ornamentation. *Āyāgapaṭas* or ornamental slabs bearing the representation of Jina or other object of worship were put up in temples for the worship of the Arhats. While epigraphy points to the existence of such temples and monastic establishments where the architects must have displayed their talents, the spade of the archaeologist failed to unearth any trace of these.

Brahmanical statues: The depiction of Brahmanical images in the Kushāṇa art at Mathurā may be considered with reference to the depiction of the Brahmanical divinities on the Kushāṇa coins. As the statues of the Brahmanical deities found at Mathurā are not dated, these can only be classified on stylistic grounds. Śiva figures along with his Nandī on the Kushāṇa coins from the time of Wima Kadphises onwards. The deity is polycephalous,[125] but on the coins of Kanishaka and Huvishka the two-armed and the four-armed figures are depicted with a variety of attributes,[126] elephant's gourd, water vessel, and the trident in the upper left hand. Sometimes the noose is held in lower right hand, and the lower left rests on the hip, or is hanging down. The god also appears three-headed, clad in waistband, ithyphallic, with four arms holding goad, wheel, trident, and thunderbolt.[127] Śiva is also depicted with his consort on some coins[128]—Nana identified with Ambā or Umā read here OMMO.[129]

In Mathurā art Śiva is portrayed with Pārvatī, in the human couple form, Śiva lingam, with the figure of Sivā four-armed,[130] and Ardhanārīśvara.[130] A fragment consists of the left leg of a seated male image of natural size wearng a loin cloth and ring round his ankle. On his thigh a female figure is seated of which only the lower half remains. It probably represents Śiva holding Pārvatī. It is said to originate from Kaṅkālī Tīlā, and very probably belonged to the Kushāṇa period.[131] The famous Śiva liṅga bearing an inscription[132] about 2′ in height, is a plain phallic one, and was de-

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dicated by the same person whose full name is mutilated. Another statue[133] of which the date is uncertain depicts besides Śiva and Pārvatī, Gaṇeśa and the war-lord Skanda, to the right and left respectively. Skanda along with Kumāra, Viśākha and Mahāsena also figure on the Kushāṇa coins of Huvishka.[134]

Vishṇu does not appear on the Kushāṇa coins,[135] but he finds a prominent place in Mathurā art of this period, standing in his attitude of protection,[136] seated in Padmāsana—the attitude of contemplation.[137] The eight-armed Vishṇu statue[138] has also been found. The statues of his consort, Lakshmī on lotus, Gajalakshmī,[139] with Kubera, [140] Vasundharā [14] Kātyāyani, Mahishāsuramardinī, and the Saptamātrikās[143] are also depicted in Mathurā art. The other Brahmanical deities include Brahmā,[144] Agni with Āyuddhapurusha,[1] Balarāma wearing varṇamālā with chakra in *abhayamudrā*,[146] Svāmikārttika[147]—the statue also bears an inscription—Gaṇeśa,[148] and Kāmadeva.[149] Kubera, as usual, figures more prominently enjoying *āsava* drink.

It is clear that Brahmanism and Brahmanical deities were notable in Mathurā. Its Vedic phase is best represented by the famous Yūpa bearing the inscription of the time of Vāsishka.[150] Śiva and Vishṇu along with their consorts and other Brahmanical divinities did not escape the hands of the Kushāṇa sculptors. They provided a model for the Gupta artists. The sculptors also carved out colossal statues of Nāgas and Nagīs on the usual pattern of the earlier Yaksha and Yakshī figures. The seated Sun images are of great interest. The earliest figure of the deity from the sapta-samudri well, [151] shows the Sun squatting in a car drawn by four horses, holding some object in each hand. He has long locks and wears a torque round his neck. He is dressed in a cuirass and boots and holds a kind of club or mace, and a staff or sword. The dress and the attributes may be compared with the figure of the Kushāṇa king in tunic and boots seated on a throne. Standing Sun images of the same type and age are also found in Mathurā.[152]

Nāgas and Nāgas: These two types of local deities continued to enjoy the patronage and devotion of the people in this period, as is evident from the carving out of their statues. The pot-bellied massive Yaksha figures, known in Mathurā since early times were adapted for this purpose. The Nāga is represented in human form, with the snake-hoods rising above the head. The Chhargaon Nāga statue,[153] is probably the best specimen and bears an inscription of the time of Huvishka dated in the year 40. The image is clad in a *dhoṭī* and a scarf tied round loins. A necklace can be traced on the breast. The coils of the snake are indicated on the back of the stone. These local *genii*

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supposed to be the lords of the lakes and springs were worshipped for their beneficient and likely destructive powers. Their female counter-parts also figure in the Mathurā art of this period.[154]

Architectural pieces and Bacchanalian scenes: Such architectural pieces—toraṇas, friezes, railings, cross-bars, basements, pillar-slabs, door-jambs, capitals, *ūrdhva-paṭṭa*—are reminiscent of the once existing structures of the Kushāṇa period. In the absence of scientific excavations in the last century, it was not possible to suggest the civic plan of the town, and its architecture, although all the types listed above must have formed parts of those monuments. There are traces of Buddhist and Jain stūpas, and of the Royal gallery of Huvishka. The famous tablet of *homage-āyāgapaṭa*—set up by the courtesan Loṇaśobhikā depicts the stūpa in relief with its architraves and the toraṇas, and the columns. These pieces carry beautiful carvings in stone suggestive of the high standard of sculptor's art. They are equally important for depicting the life of the people—bacchanalian scenes not devoid of obtrude sensuousness which is a characteristic feature of the Kushāṇa art. Nuditity, eroticism, dancing and music are faithfully depicted. The sculptor is very successful in the use of his chisel. The nude or semi-nude female figures in the company of their lovers, also associated with trees and birds like parrots, are portrayed in a sensuous manner. Coomaraswamy presumes[156] that they are not girls, but Yakshīs, devatās, or vṛikshas, nymphs and dryads, regarded as auspicious emblems of vegetative fertility, derived from popular beliefs. The erotic suggestion of some kind, implied or explicitly expressed and emphasised with reference to vegetative sexual motif is presented with frankness or transparency. A new piece of sculpture from Maholi deserves special attention. It is a bacchanalian scene not a nude or semi-nude vegetative motif, comprising of several members of the family, including parents and children. In the centre a graceful female figure in half-kneeling posture, is supported by her husband by the arm to prevent her from drooping. A small girl to the left holds the drinking cup, and the lady seems to clasp to her bosom. A female attendant stands at the back. On the reverse side of the slab the scene consists of four figures of whom the on the left is a royal lady dancing with her female parasol bearer by her side. To the right is a male person slightly intoxicated, and his attendant at the back supports his master.[157] The panel on the door jamb depicting the toilet scene is suggestive of the social life of the people. The woman and the cage, the lover and the beloved on the balcony, and the woman standing on the back of a prostrated male dwarf,[158] are indicative of the position of the lover in the ultimate analysis. One may like to suggest that the toilet scene reminds of the Nanda and Sundarī episode in

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which the lady hand her mirror to her lord to hold it up till she gave the finishing touch to her toilet.[159] The other scenes might well illustrate Asvagnosha's analysis of women's character as given in his Kāvyas. These scenes could easily serve as a deterrent or corrective force for the votaries as they came to the places of worship.

Terracottas: Some terracotta pieces of this period also deserve notice. These include the *Sālabhañjikā,*[160] youngman playing on a harp,[161] mother and child, the female with parrot, showing amorous couple,[164] and even Śiva Liṅga.[165] The terracotta pieces seem to suggest experimentation with the same motifs in a different manner. Moulds were prepared and the earthern stuff was baked. A corpulent figure[166] is shown seated to front on an ornamental chair and holding in her left hand a male child, and wearing a string of beads round its neck and its loins. The figure wears a wreath on her hand, heavy pendants in her ears, a row of bracelets and a *tilaka.* These baked toys were meant for the children and are important as an appraisal of the cultural life of the times.

Foreign elements: This point engaged the attention of several scholars. Cunningham presumed[167] a small body of Bactrian sculptors who found employment among the wealthy Buddhists at Mathurā. Growse rejected[168] it. According to him, Mathurā presented a school of art based on indigenous traditions. Smith also presumed[169] that Mathurā sculptures have very little in common with those of Gandhāra. Grunwedel[170] found Mathurā purely representing Greek subjects amongst which he took the representation of Māra with bows and arrows. Vogel followed the middle course.[171] At both the ends the subjects were essentially Indian, notwithstanding their classical form which is more prominent in Gandhāra than in Mathurā. The latter represents on the one hand a direct continuation of the old Indian art of Bhārhut and Sāñchī, and on the otherhand the classical influence derived from Gandhāra. Stracey's 'Silenius',[172] now in the Calcutta Museum, Cunningham's 'Herakles strangling the Nemean lion, also in the same Museum[173] are supposed to be the best specimens of Greek art in Mathurā. As suggested by Vogel,[174] though the so-called 'Silenus' in question was classical in character, it did not reach even the lowest standard of Greek or Hellenistic art. He, however, drew attention to the freezes with garland carrying figures, derived from the cupids in the same posture which are found on the sarcophagi of Hellenistic and Roman art. The few sculptures do not justify in assuming a direct Greek or Hellenistic influence or even the existence of a body of Bactrian sculptors in ancient Mathurā. The contact of Mathurā with Central Asia was also responsible for the importation of head-dress—the conical caps—of which we find several illustrations in Mathurā art.

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The figure of the Kambuja queen in blue schist is notable. We can, therefore, presume that contact between the two centres—Mathurā and Gandhāra—may not be ruled out. This might account for the few pieces of Hellenic-Gandhāra art in Mathurā.

We have considered the contributions of both centres of art during the Kushāṇa period. It is clear that the period under study was notable for the efflorescense of art. The patronage of the Kushāṇa emperors, especially Kanishka and his successors, noted for their tolerance and belief in eclecticism, and a keen desire to carve out the image of the Buddha, put the artists talents to test. In doing so they had to fall back on their own traditions. The Graeco-Romans turned to the west, and found the Appollo figure as the model, while those at Mathurā had the Yaksha figures of the earlier period to inspire them in their mission. The mass and weight of these figure in the statues of Buddha and Bodhisattvas. Conception also varied in dress and ornamentation. The shaven-headed Buddha dressed in *dhotī* or *sanghāṭī*, offering protection to the people with his weight and height, is different from the genial young face of Apollo like Buddha, with his *ushṇīsha* and drapery in folds. The ornamentation of the Bodhisattvas seeking enlightenment does not figure in early Bodhisattva images at Mathurā. It is only in later Bodhisattva images that ornamentation is traced. While Gandhāra art is purely Buddhist, that at Mathurā is secular, meeting the requirements of Buddhists, Jains, and Brahmins alike. Art also serves as a mirror of social life at both the centres, depicting various aspects including bacchanalian and drinking scenes. Nudity is conspicuous at Mathurā. There the obdurate sensuous scenes might as well be having some moral basis. The female with parrot, carrying the cage, trampling the dwarf, striking the Aśoka tree with her left foot, and standing in the *Śālabhañjika* pose appear to carry more than the vegetative aspect of life. This aspect of Mathurā art is replaced by refinement, naturalism, simplicity of expression, and elegance under the Guptas with a strong religious and spiritual appeal.

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1. A clear cut definition of the territory called Gandhāra is given by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsang. The kingdom of Gandhāra occupied the region now covered by the modern Peshawar valley, including the hilly districts of Swat and Buner in the north, and the region to the east of the Indus as far as and including Taxila, which in the sixth century B.C. was the capital of this political Janapada. The important sites noted for Gandhāra art are Loriya-Tangai, Jamalgarhi, Takht-i-Bahai, Sahri-Bahlol, Shabhazgarhi, Charsadda (ancient Pushkalāvatī) & Shahji-ke-dheri. A comprehensive bibliography of contributions on Gandhāra—its geography, art, archaeology, and history is given in Henri Deydier's *Contribution a l'etude de l'art du Gandhāra* (Paris, 1950).
2. Cunningham was the first to date this art. According to him its golden age was under the Kushāṇa king Kanishka and his successors (ASR. III. 39). Fergusson placed its flourishing period about 400 A.D. and its duration from the 1st cent. B.C. till the 5th cent. A.D. (*History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* (1876) p. 181-2. Smith distinguishing the Hellenistic from the Roman

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dated its culmination between A.D. 50 to A.D. 150 or 200 (*A History of Fine Art in India and Ceylon*. 2nd ed. pp. 52-53) Grunwedel and Foucher, both suggested its beginning in the last cent. B.C., but the former placed its brightest period in the 4th cent. A.D., while the latter in the 1st cent. A.D. for its efflorescence, and the second-half of that century for its decline (*Buddhistische Kunst*, 1890, p. xiv; and *L'art Greco-Bouddhique* II. p. 496) Vogel agreed with Foucher (*The Buddhistische Kunst*. 1932) Coomaraswamy put the flourishing period in the reign of Kanishka (*History of India and Indonesian Art*. p. 53). Rowland on the basis of stylistic comparisons, between Roman art and that of Gandhāra suggests that the latter came into existence after the middle of the first century A.D., and its flourishing period lasted from the end of the 1st till the beginning of the 4th cent. A.D. (*The Art and Architecture of India* p. 75). Marshall suggested its beginning in the last century before the Christian era (*Buddhist Art of Gandhāra* p. 17), but it did not reach maturity until the advent of the Kushāṇas in the second half of the 1st cent. A.D. It was at its zenith in the 2nd cent., declined a little in the reign of Vāsudeva, and came to an abrupt end with his death and the eclipse of the Kushāṇa empire in India (JRAS. Apl. 1947, p. 16) Ghirshman proposed a very short period, beginning in the last cent. A.D., apex in the second half of the 2nd cent. A.D., followed by stabilization, and finally decay in the second-half of the 3rd cent. A.D. (*Begram* pp. 153-54) Bachhofer had earlier suggested that this school had probably not come into existence in the middle of the 1st cent. A.D. (JAOS Dec. 1941, quoted by Marshall. *op. cit.* p. 6). In a late publication—*Gandhāra Art in Pakistan by Harold Ingholt* (Pantheon, New York, 1957) activity in Gandhāra art is stressed even after the Sassanian conquest about 250 A.D.—a view endorsed by Wheeler (*Antiquity* 23, 1949 pp. 17-18) and supported by Soper (*American Journal of Archaeology* 1951, p. 314), and Foucher (*Ville route de l'Inde* II. pp. 342-44). The writer suggests general agreement on the terminal date of Gandhāra art, but not with the beginning. Absolute dating in sculpture is seldom feasible. (pp. 23-24). See also Lohuizen-de-Leeuw.: *The Scythian Period* pp. 75 ff. for the summary of different views on the subject.

3. Rowland. Art Bulletin. XVIII (1936) p. 387.
4. *The Art and Architecture of India*. p. 79.
5. ibid.
6. The question of the origin of the Buddha image has been discussed by many scholars. Their opinions are collected and summarised by Deydier (*op. cit.* pp. 46 ff.). The main question is: Did it originate exclusively in the Graeco-Buddhist school at Gandhāra, or was there a simultaneous attempt in Mathurā as well? Further, did one influence the other? Foucher thought that the image of the Buddha originated in Gandhāra alone, while Coomaraswamy was the first to defend the Indian Buddha proposition (JAOS, 46. 1926, pp. 165-176). The consensus of opinion is that the image originated at both the places independently, but the influence of one over the other, however negligible, in iconography and drapery with the passage of time may be admitted. Buchthal sees in the Buddha figure a copy of a Roman toga statue perhaps even of Augustus (*Proceedings of the British Academy*, xxxi, 1946, p. 10), and Soper stresses the influences from the Roman workshop of the Hardian period (*American Journal of Archaeology*, 55, 1951, p. 306). The starting point of Tarn's argument (*The Greeks in Bactria and India*. pp. 396 ff.) that the figure of the Buddha first appears on the coins of Maues is incorrect. The supposed figure is nothing more than a seated monarch, as suggested by Coomaraswamy and Bachhofer. According to Prof. Lohuizen-de-Leeuw, the arguments of those scholars who insisted that the Buddha of Gandhāra is older than that of Mathurā do not hold good. (*The Scythian Period* p. 98). She presumes that the influence from India on Gandhāra has been considerably greater than was generally assumed up till now. The western influence, on the otherhand, has probably been much less, especially in the late centuries A.D. than is generally supposed. (ibid. p. 82).
7. ASI. An. Rep. 1908-09. pp. 38-59.
8. According to Wilson (*Ariana Antiqua*, 1841), this reliquary was associated with coins of Azes. It is a golden casket, with standing figures of Buddha and worshippers in relief in niches, the base engraved with an Indian lotus. This is generally cited as the earliest example of Graeco-Buddhist art, but coins merely provide, as Coomaraswamy suggested, a *terminus post quem*, and Wilson himself concluded that the stupas of Afghanistan are undoubtedly subsequent to the Christian era (*op. cit.* p. 322). See Coomaraswamy. op. cit. p. 51.

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9. Rowland. *Op. cit.* p. 84. He suggests that the style is a mixture of the archaic technique of the early Indian schools combined with borrowings from Classical sources.
10. Harold Ingholt: *Gandhāra Art in Pakistan,* p. 25. pl. III. 2, 3, 4, 5.
11. ibid. III. 2.
12. ibid. III. 3.
13. ibid. III. 4, 5.
14. *op. cit.* p. 403.
15. Father Heras presumed that Gandhāra art was connected with that of Mohenjo-daro, and he traced the origin of the figure of the Buddha to the seated Yogi from there. (JBBRAS. XII. pp. 71-97).
16. Vogel agreed with Foucher, on account of the reliquary of Kanishka, that the golden age had passed already before the reign of that monarch (*De Buddhistische Kunst, van voor-Indie.* p. 35).
17. Rowland: *Op. cit.* p. 82.
18. *The Buddhist art of Gandhāra.* p. 25.
19. Harold Ingholt: *Gandhāran art in Pakistan.* Fig. No. 278. The references given in this work are mostly from this *magnum opus.*
20. ibid. Nos. 279, 281-2.
21. ibid. No. 284.
22. ibid. No. 285.
23. ibid. No. 281.
24. ibid. No. 283.
25. Marshall & Vogel; ASI. An. Rep. 1902-03. p. 165. pl. xxv. see also Coomaraswamy, *The Buddha's Cūḍa, Hair, Ushṇīsha, and crown.* JRAS 1928, pp. 815 ff.
26. *Gandhāra art.* op. cit. No. 284.
27. ibid. p. 133.
28. ibid. No. 287.
29. ibid. No. 289, p. 135.
30. ibid. No. 302.
31. ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12. Pl. xxxvi, fig. 2.
32. *Gandhāra art.* Op. cit. p. 137.
33. ibid. No. 232.
34. Ibid. Nos. 303-05.
35. ibid. No. 303.
36. ibid. Nos. 306, 308.
37. see contra. No. 285.
38. ibid. No. 310.
39. Ibid. No. 313, cf. Nos. 242 & 326.
40. Foucher: *L'art Graeco-Bouddhique* II. No. 410. p. 213; 428, p. 241, 427. p. 239.
41. *Gandhāran Art* Nos. 39A & B.
42. ibid. No. 40.
43. ibid. No. 52.
44. ibid. No. 137.
45. ibid. p. 50. fig. 160.
46. Ingholt. Op. cit. pl. X. 2.
47. Marshall; *Gandhāra Art.* fig. 130, p. 99.
48. Ingholt. *Op. cit.* No. 110.
49. ibid. No. 338.
50. Smith: *History of Fine Art.* p. 59. pl. 33.
51. Ingholt: *Op. cit.* No. 340; 342 (for joint figures).
52. Marshall: *Op. cit.* p. 33.
53. Ingholt: *Op. cit.* No. 40.
54. ibid. No. 443.
55. ibid. No. 492.
56. ibid. No. 391.
57. ibid. No. 397.
58. ibid. Nos. 343 & 345.
59. ibid. p. 21.
60. ibid. No. 347.
61. ibid. Nos. 381-87.
62. ibid. Nos. 388-90; 393-5.
63. ibid. Nos. 369-80.
64. ibid. No. 349.
65. ibid. Nos. 350-52.
66. ibid. Nos. 359-62, 364.

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67. ibid. 363, 367.
68. Marshall. op. cit. fig. No. 97.
69. Marshall; *Gandhāra* art.
70. Ingholt. *Op. cit.* p. 40.
71. ASR. I. pp. 231-244; III. pp. 13-46; XVII, pp. 107-112; pp. 30-39. Vogel quoted Cunningham's views in his *Catalogue of the Mathura Museum* p. 29, along with those of others. Prinsep spoke of the so-called 'Silenus' as a piece of sculpture bearing reference to Greek mythology (JASB. V. 1836 pp. 567-570). Despite its classical character it did not reach even the lowest standard of Greek or Hellenistic art. For this reason Growse rejected Cunningham's views (Vogel. Op. cit. p. 29). According to Foucher, the Mathurā school far from being a direct and earlier expression of Greek influence, received its classical inspiration indirectly through Gandhāra (*L'art Greco-Bouddhique*. p. 222). Smith expressed the view that the Mathurā sculptures have very little in common with those of Gandhāra (*A History of Fine Art*. p. 43). According to Coomaraswamy, sculptures showing traces of Hellenistic influences, taken together constitute a very small fraction of the whole production of this school. (Op. Cit. p. 60).
72. Vogel. ASI. AN. Rep. 1911-12. p. 122; *La sculpture de Mathura*. p. 22; Bachhofer: *Early Indian sculpture* p. 51, 176; *Coomaraswamy*. Op. cit. p. 165; *Marg* XV, March 1962.
73. Vogel: *La sculpture* p. 22. pl. 11. Agrawal, JUPHS. XXXII. 1950. p. 74; Bachhofer. p. 52. JBORS. 1920. p. 15.
74. Vogel: *Cat. Mah. Mus.* No. G 42; Agrawal *Op. cit.* p. 77.
75. No. 1251; Agrawal. *Op cit.* p. 78.
76. No. 1252. ibid.
77. No. 1566. ibid.
78. Vogel: *Cat. Mat. Mus.* Nos. G. 32 & 1252.
79. Marg. March 1962, Vol. XVI p. 43.
80. JA. 1952. pl. vii.
81. ASI. An. Rep. 1909-10. p. 66.
82. According to Tarn, whenever Mathurā first received Greek artistic influences it is idle to suppose that people did not know what the Greeks were doing—quite a different matter—or that there could have been in that town a second creation of the Buddha image bearing no relation at all to the first creation (*Greeks in Bactria & India*. p. 404). He quotes Vogel suggesting that their first essays at making Buddhas of their own produces only mediocre figures, gauche and heavy, and of an astonishing uniform (Vogel: *La sculpture de Mathure* p. 39).
83. *History of Indian and Indonesian art* p. 57.
84. Vogel: *Cat. Math. Mus.* No. A1.
85. ibid. No. A2.
86. ibid No. N1 & J 24.
87. ibid. No. J 18.
88. Smith: *The Jain stupa* pl. lxxxvii.
89. Sahni: *Cat. Sarnath Mus.* No. B(a) 1. pl. vii.
90. Smith: *Fine Arts*. fig. 94.
91. ASI. An. Rep. 1912-13. p. 26.
92. Marshall & Other. *Cat. Sanchi Mus.* p. 59. No. A. 82.
93. ibid No. A.83.
94. ASI. An. Rep. 1906-07. p. 143.
95. JUPHS. XI (II). Dec. 1938. p. 68.
96. Vogel: *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. A 63. p. 62.
97. *Cat. Sāñchī Mus.* No. A. 83.
98. Vogel. *Cat Mat. Mus.* No. A. 45 pp. 57-58.
99. ibid. No. A 68. p. 64.
100. ibid No. A. 43. p. 57. pl. xvb.
101. *The Scythian Period*. p. 229.
102. Bachhofer: *Early Indian sculpture*. II. pl. 84a & b.
103. *The Scythian Period*. p. 205.
104. *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*. p. 60.
105. Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* H.1.2. p. 125ff.
106. ibid. H.6, N. 2(b).
107. No. 2(f).
107. ibid No. 2(f).
108. ibid. H7 & N2(c);
109. ibid. Nos. H7, 8, 9 & N 2(a).

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110. Vogel; *Cat. Math. Mus.* No. H3 p. 127.
111. ibid. p. 129.
112. ibid. No. M. 11. p. 130.
113. Agrawala. JUPHS. Vol. XXIII (1950). No. I. 14. p. 128.
114. Coomaraswamy. Op. cit. pl. 86.
115. Agrawal JUPHS. XXXIII (1950). No. B4. p. 39.
116. Luder's List. No. 39; *The Scythian Period.* p. 56.
117. *Op. cit.* p. 219.
118. Luder's List. No. 24; Smith: *The Jain Stupa.* pl. xc.
119. EI. II. p. 209 f, No. 37, and plate.
120. Agrawala. JUPHS. XXIII. No. 2502. p. 50.
121. *Op. cit.* p. 159.
122. Vogel: *Cat. Math. Mus.* No. B2 p. 184.
123. Several other *āyāgapaṭas* were found in Mathurā. See JUPHS. 1950. Vol. XXIII. Nos. 569, 603, 2563. p. 71. According to Vogel, an *āyāgapaṭa* is an ornamental slab, bearing the representation of a Jina or some other object of worship. The term may be appropriately rendered as 'tablet of homage, or of worship'. These slabs were put up in temples for the worship of the Arhatas. The inscriptions on them show archaic characters, and so probably they went out of fashion at an early period. (Vogel. ibid. note, quoting Bühler: EI. II. pp. 311 and 314: Smith: *Jain Stupa.* plates vii-xiii.
124. Vogel: *Cat. Math. Mus.* No. B2 p. 67.
125. Cunningham: *Coins of the Kushāṇas.* Pl. xvii.
126. Whitehead: *Catalogue of Coins in the Punjab Museum.* Pl.
127. Gardner: *Catalogue of Coins of Scythians* etc. Pl. xxviii. 10.
128. Whitehead: *Cat. Pun. Mus.* p. 197. fig. 135, pl. xviii.
129. JRAS. 1897. p. 324.
130. Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. D 14, p. 97.
131. Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. D 13. p. 97.
132. Agrawala: JUPHS. 1939. p. 29, No. xxi.
133. Vogel: Op. cit. No. D. 14. p. 97; 134. Whitehead; *Cat Pun. Mus.* p 207 xii, xiii.
135. D.C Sircar, presumably on the basis of Smith's reading of a legend on a copper coin of Huvishka in the collection of the Indian Museum, has suggested that Vishṇu appears on some coins of the Kushāṇa ruler (*The Age of Imperial Unity*, p. 439). According to J.N. Banerjea, the emblems in the hands of the deity are not distinct at all, but they seem to have more affinity with those of Śiva—a trident or staff, a thunderbolt, an antelope etc. (*Development of Hindu Iconograh*py p. 130).
136. Accession No. 2487.
137. ibid. No. 512.
138. ibid. No. 1010.
139. ibid. No. 2520.
140. ibid. No. 985.
141. ibid No. 141.
142. ibid. No. 2317.
143. ibid. No. F. 38.
144. ibid. No. 382.
145. ibid. No. 2583.
146. Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No.c 15 p. p. 90.
147. Accession No. 2949.
148. ibid. No. 269.
149. ibid. No. 1503.
150. Vogel: *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. Q 13. p. 189.
151. ibid. No D 46. p. 104; Cf. the famous Sūrya figure carved at Bhaja which might be the earliest representation of this god.
152. Vogel: Op. cit. Nos. D.1. D.3. p. 94.
153. ibid No. c. 13. p. 88.
154. Accession No. 439.
155. *History of Indian and Indonesian art.* p. 64.
156. Op. cit. p. 64.
157. JUPHS. 1938. p. 73 with pl.
158. These scenes along with a few others like the lady playing on the drum, another dancing to its accompaniment, the couple in amorous pose etc. are depicted on the door jambs (Lucknow Museum Nos. J 268).
159. *Saun.* IV. 13.
160. Nos. 3026, 1628.

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161. ibid. 2642.
162. ibid. 1621.
163. ibid.. 2592, 1199A.
164. ibid. 2294.
165. ibid. 2431.
166. Vogel. *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. T3. p. 198.
167. *The stupa of Bharhut* p. 107; *Mahabodhi* p. 52.
168. Vogel: op. cit. p. 29 quoting both the opinions.
169. JASB. LVIII (1889) pt. I. pp. 140, 156.
170. Ref. 168.
171. Op cit. pp. 29 ff.
172. Vogel: Op. cit. p. 15.
173. *Op. cit.* p. 16.
174. ibid. p. 29. Vogel has quoted Foucher (*L'art Greco-Bouddhique* I. p. 222) According to him, far from being a direct and earlier expression of Greek influence, it received its classical inspiration indirect through Gandhāra.

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APPENDIX. A

A NOTE ON KUSHĀṆA NUMISMATICS

The systematic issue of gold coins in Northern India commences with the advent of the Kushāṇas to power. Previously the Persian emperor Darius had issued Daric (gold) and Sigloi (silver) coins in the sixth century B.C.,[1] but their circulation was confined to the Indian satrapy of the emperor in the extreme north-west. Gold coins of the Greek standard till the time of Eucratides are known, though very scarce, according to Whitehead.[2] It is a remarkable fact that after Eucratides a gold currency of any prince upto and including the last King Hermaeus is absolutely unknown. The Kushāṇa rulers have, therefore, the credit of issuing systematic gold and copper coinage, though only a few silver pieces are also known. Trade relations between India and the outside world necessitated circulation of coins of a set standard. As the Roman *aurei* was acceptable, it was natural for the Kushāṇa monarchs to imitate this Roman coin in weight and standard. It may here be mentioned that a few scholars,[3] like Cunningham, Smith and Rapson were of the opinion that the Kushāṇas recoined the Roman *aurei*. This might be a presumption unwarranted by facts. The Kushāṇas could not get hold of the Roman *aurei* melted, and reissued these in mass. The introduction of their own coinage to meet the needs of their subjects and to facilitate international trade was a natural thing expected from rulers with an extensive domain.[4] The study of Kushāṇa Numismatics may be undertaken under the following heads: Types and Metallurgy, Legends and scripts, Divinities on Kushāṇa coins, Weights and standards, and Monograms and symbolical marks.

Types and Metallurgy: The coins of the first Kushāṇa ruler Kujula Kadphises are only in copper and of several types—Bust of Herakles and Hermaeus,[5] Bull and Bactrian Camel,[6] Diademed-head and enthroned king,[7] seated Buddha and Zeus,[8] Head of Augustus with king seated,[9] and the Macedonian soldier,[10] It is not necessary to describe these coin types separately. Of these six types only two—the diademed head and enthroned king, and seated Buddha and Zeus deserve attention—the former because it was possibly imitated from that of Augustus or Claudius on Roman coins, and the latter because Buddha figures on Kanishka's coins as well. We have considered the historical value of the former type in connection with the history of Kujula Kadphises.[11] The seated Buddha type is asso-

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cated with the coinage of Kanishka with the difference that Buddha figures on the reverse both in standing and seated postures.[12]

Wima Kadaphises introduced gold, silver and copper coinage types with the king figuring prominently in all types, along with Śiva alone or with his bull. The coins show an improvement, characterised by Indianisation of motifs. The Bactrian camel is replaced by the Nandī. This ruler issued gold coins of three varieties—head or figure of the king seated on throne,[13] half length figure of the king and Śiva,[14] and the head of the king in frame.[15] Another type of gold coin-not mentioned by Gardner, Smith and Whitehead—was first noticed by Wilson. In this the king to the right is carried in a car drawn by two horses, and driven by a dimunitive character. He puts on a cap and holds a club. It has a double monogram. This unique coin was mentioned in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.[17] It was procured by Col. Smith from Benaras.

This Kushāṇa monarch did not issue silver coins and so far only one silver coin, now in the British Museum,[18] is noticed. It has the standing figure of the king to the left with helmet and fillet, tunic, coat and trousers, altar and trident in front, club behind the right hand in the usual position, and the left possibly holding a vessel.

The copper coins of this ruler have only one type.—standing king with Śiva and bull on the reverse in three sizes,[19] all round. The king in this type stands before the altar in the usual dress, possibly making an offering with his right hand. Describing the reverse of the copper coin of the large size, Wilson pointed out[20] that on the reverse the figure of Śiva is turned to front, the head is portrayed and surrounded by a veil, body clothed in the usual Hindu dress, and a garland of flowers or skull hangs on the left shoulder. He holds a trident in his left hand and is leaning on an Indian bull standing behind him. A unique copper coin[21] exhibits a bust with two faces.

The prominence given to the portrait of this divinity, on the coins of Wima Kadphises is retained in those of Kanishka and his successsors. The gold coins of Kanishka are only of one type,[22] but in two sizes—stater and quarter stater. The king, radiate, stands to left, wearing peaked helmet, long heavy coat, and trousers, sacrifices at a small altar, holding a long spear in left hand. The reverse is occupied with figures of different divinities. The Iranian legend in Greek—*Paonanopao Kaneshki Koshano (shaonanoshao Kanishka Koshano)* alone appears on the obverse. Gold coins of this ruler with the Greek title Basileus Basileon are much rarer than the common type bearing the title of Shao. Whitehead refers[23] to a few

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such coins in the British Museum one each with the figures of Helios, Hephaistos, and two with the deity Salene on the reverse.

The standing king type with the legend in Greek—Basileus Basileon on the obverse, is retained for his copper coins as well,[24] along with the Iranian title, Pao (Shāo) standing king type—the latter in three sizes—double stater, and quarter stater.[25] Copper coins of this ruler in the seated posture on throne are also found. Although the full name is mutilated, Whitehead attributes the four coins of 68 grains—half stater—to Kanishka on grounds of the size and style.[26] Gardner also refers[27] to the bronze coins of Kanishka with the standing figure of the king on the obverse along with the Greek title, and the figure of Helios and Nania on the reverse.

Huvishka issued numerous types of coins. Some were new devices. His gold coins depict the half-length figure of the king and deity,[28] and the king seated in cross-legged fashion.[29] Both these types have the Iranian legend *Paonanopao* in Greek on the obverse. A unique silver coin of this Kushāṇa ruler is also noticed.[30] The king faces right and wears a coat of mail and round crown bound with fillet. The different types of copper coins of Huvishka—include, according to Gardner[31]—the king riding on elephant, and the seated king[32] with the legends *Paonanopao* in both types. Whitehead is little more elaborate in his scheme of classification.[33] The copper coins are classified under six varieties—half length figure of king and deity, elephant rider, king reclining on couch, king seated to front cross-legged, king seated with head to right, and king with both arms raised. Lastly, he notices another type with the elephant rider on the obverse, and a barbarous deity on the reverse. More deities are depicted on the reverse side. A study of these divinities drawn from different pantheons would be made separately.

The coins of Vāsudeva, in gold and copper, are of two types one showing the king at altar on the obverse with OHPO (Śiva) and bull on the reverse.[34] In the second type[35] only in copper coins the king, as usual, stands at altar as in the first type, on the reverse we find the goddess seated on throne to front, with fillet in right hand and cornucopia in left. The coins are stater or quarter ones with reverses of NANA, OHPO without bull, and in a type the entire field on the obverse is occupied by the word Vasu in Brāhmī character and the monogram of Vasu on the reverse,[36] while a many-headed figure of OHPO is noticed on another coin.[37] Altekar has also referred to a new and unique coin type of Vāsudeva in which Śiva is portrayed with elephant on reverse[38]—symbolising, as suggested, Śiva killing Gajāsura.

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The later Kushāṇas issued two types of coins—Śiva and Bull,[39] and the seated goddess.[40] The king stands at altar with peaked-helmet and complete suit of chainmail, making an offering with right hand over a small altar, & long trident in left hand. Besides the legend in Greek....Hpko Kosano, the Brāhmī characters in lower left field *ha*, between feet *tha*, and to right *suṁ* appear on the coins of Kanishka and Vasu to right, *bha* to left; and *vi* between feet on the coins of Vasu. The two armed Śiva with the bull behind him and the name OHPO in Greek appear on the reverse of the coins of Kanishka, while the goddess Ardokhsho appears on the reverse of the coins of Vasu. Martin, noticing some new Kushāṇa gold coins,[41] mentions a slightly cup-shaped coin of the Later Kushāṇa king Kanishka—with the king at an altar on the obverse, and the goddess seated full face on a lion crouching left, crescent behind her shoulders. She holds noose and sceptre. The Later Kushāṇa coins are both stater and quarter stater ones, and are in gold and copper.

A perusal of the coin types of the Kushāṇa rulers shows that the king figures prominently either before the altar, which was adopted by the Gupta rulers as well,[42] or in other postures in full or in portrait. Huvishka introduced new varieties portraying the king in various poses. He is not, however, shown standing before an altar—as did his predecessor and his successor. The absence of this variety in Huvishka's coins is an important fact which might have something to do with his religious beliefs. On two coins we find him kneeling before the goddess Nanā, which is not noticed elsewhere. Even Vāsudeva is not depicted in this posture, although this goddess alone figures on his coins.

Legends: The legends on the Kushāṇa coins are both in Greek and in Kharoshṭhī—the titles being the Greek *Basileus Basileon,* the Iranian *Shaonano Shao,* and the Indian Mahārāja Rājātirāja all signifying Great kings, kings of kings. The later Kushāṇas have legends in Brahmī as well. Kanishka[43] and his successors do not use Kharoshṭhī, but Greek continues on the coins of all the Kushāṇa rulers. The Greek title—*Basileus Basileon* was very common and used practically by all the Indo-Greek kings.[44] According to Thomas,[45] Kanishka actually borrowed this title from the rulers whom he regarded as his predecessors'. They had commonly used this title on their coins. Kanishka might have thought it better to retain the title which was used not only by the Indo-Greek kings, but also by his immediate predecessor Wima Kadphises. He, of course, committed the grammatical blunder of using the nominative for the genitive in the first word of the legend. This blunder is also noticeable on the coins of one foreign king Gotarzes of Parthia who was possibly a

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contemporary of Kujula Kadphises.[46] This Greek title was not continued by either Huvishka or Vāsudeva.

The Iranian title *Paonanopao* transcribed as *Shaonanoshao* or *Shāhanshāh* was used by Kanishka and his successors.[47] The Allahabad pillar inscription of Samudragupta[48] also refers to some *Daivaputra shāhi shāhānushāhi* acknowledging the supremacy of the Gupta monarch. Though an Iranian title it appears in Greek script and is noticed in a dimunitive form Shāhi[49] only which need not imply the decadence of the Kushāṇa power at that time, or in the region of the issue of later type of coins. This Iranian title, and its use by Kanishka onwards, has to be viewed in context with the depiction of the Iranian deities on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka.

The titles in Kharoshṭhī begin with Kujula Kadphises and end with his successor, although these continue to be used by Kanishka and his successors in inscriptions. Kujula used only two legendary titles.[50]—*Yavugasadharmathidasa* and *Sachadharmathitasa*. We also noticed the Kharoshṭhī legends *Mahārajasa Rājādirājasa*.[51] The first two are confined to Kujula Kadphises alone. Yauvgasa might correspond to the Chinese Yabagou. He was steadfast in his family or clan, and also in true law. We have already discussed these titles and their implications in the chapter on political history. The title *Satyadharmasthitasya*—the Sanskritised form of *Sachadhramathitasa*, also occurs in a late inscription of the time of Kanishka.[52]

Wima Kadphises coins have the legend *Mahārājasa rājādirājasa Sarvaloga īśvarasa mahīśvarasa*.[53] The first part meaning great king, king of kins, was used earlier by the Indo-Parthian rulers. Azes, Azilises and Gondophernes,[54] and also by the ruler *incognito* of the Lucknow Museum and Girdharpur inscriptions.[55] This title does not appear on the coins of Kanishka and his successors, but is widely used in their epigraphs.[56] The following ones—*Sarvalogaīśvara* and *Mahīśvara* have to be taken as 'the lord of all the world' and 'the devotee of Śiva' (Māheśvara). It would be meaningless to call the emperor lord of all the worlds followed by a lower attribute. One might, therefore, agree with Bhandarkar's suggestion[57] on this point. The last title *tradara*—meaning the defender of the faith, also appears on the coins of Apollodotus, Strato, Menander and Gondophernes.[58]

It, thus, appears that the Kushāṇa rulers retained the titles which were in use before them, and with the divinities from different pantheons, they took a few more titles. The Iranian one may be viewed in context with the Iranian divinities. As Kanishka and his successors did not use Kharoshṭhī on their coins, the Indian titles were also ignored. But these continued in their records.

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Divinities: Broadly speaking the divinities on the Kushāṇa coins can be arranged nationwise: Indian, Iranian, Greek, and unidentified or unclassified ones. The galaxy of divinities can be traced on the coins of all the Kushāṇa monarchs commencing from Kanishka. The identification of some baffled the numismatics for a long time. OHPO who stands prominently with his bull on the coins of Wima Kadphises—the ruler calling himself Mahīśvara or Māheśvara can easily be identified with Maheśa or Umeśa or Bhaveśa.[59] NANA who appears on the coins of these Kushāṇa rulers faces OHPO in one coin of Huvishka.[60] On another coin of the same ruler, she is seated on a lion,[61] while on a third coin,[62] she is portrayed holding a sword at waist and a sceptre and patera. The goddess appears earlier with lion in a coin of Sapaleizes.[63] The attributes of this goddess and her association with OHPO belie the suggestion that she was a Greek or an Iranian goddess, as appears from her name. Aurel Stein denied[64] her a place in the list of Zoraostrian deities although her cult was found in various localities of Iran. The name Nanā is Indian, and is used in the sense of mother in the Rigveda,[65], as also the word Ambā in Indian literature. The latter is one of the eight names given to the consort of Śiva in the *Amarakośa.*[66] The attributes of the goddess Ambā or Ambikā seated on a lion, holding a mirror in her left hand, the right hand in the Varada pose, and the other two holding sword and shield,[67] are noticed on the coins mentioned above. As NANA continues to figure on the coins of Vāsudeva, with OHPO, her foreign character is questionable. We stand, therefore, on safer ground in suggesting that this goddess was Indian and she could be identified with Ambā or Ambikā.

Mahāsena (MAACHNO), Skanda (CKANDO), Kumāra (KOMARO) and Viśākha (BIZAGO) are the other Śaiva divinities, noticed on the coins of Huvishka alone.[68] According to Bhandarkar, they were four different gods, and not one god Kārttikeya who has seventeen names in the *Amarakośa.* He concluded on the basis of the data from the *Mahābhārata* referring to Viśākha emerging from the right side of Skanda that there was a tendency to identify the two as one person. It has been suggested earlier that only Skanda or Kārttikeya with his different spheres of activities was implied in these figures and names depicted on the coins of Huvishka.

The other Brahmanical deities including MIIRO (Mihira)—the Vedic sun god, with different spellings[69] or MITHRO and MAO= Māh moongod—although these can be considered as Iranian gods as well. Other Vedic or Iranian divinities include OADO[70]=Vāda or Vāta the Wind god, ORON[71] or Varuṇa—the Vedic rain god, ORLANGO=Verthragna and ARDOKHSHO[72]—the goddess which figures on later Kushāṇa coins as well, and serves as a prototype or

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model for the reverse Lakshmī model of the Gupta coins. Buddha figures on the coins of Kujula Kadphises, as well as on those of Kanishka. Buddha is shown both in the seated and standing postures but in the attitude of protection.[73] Dr. Agrawala refers[74] to a coin of Kanishka with the figure of the Buddha seated cross-legged on a *chaukī* or stool with his right hand in the *abhayamudrā*, and the left with the clenched fist resting on the thigh. There are traces of drapery on both the shoulders.

The Iranian divinities include ATHSHO[75]=Atisho the fire god, SHAOPHORO[76]=Shahrevar, the genius of metals, OANINDO=[77]Vanainiti the female genius of star. TEIRO[78]=Tir—Archangel; ASHAEIKHSHO[79]=Ashavahisto or Ardibahist and PHARRO[80]=the goddess of lustre. The Hellenic divinities include ZEUS,[81] ELIOS=Helios,[82] the Greek Sun god, ERAKILO[83]=GK. Herakles, EPHAISTOS[84]=GK Eplistos and SALENE[85]—the moon goddess. RIOM[86]=ROMA, the city goddess of Rome also figures. Other deities include MANOBAGO[87]—the moon god, MOSDOOANO—unidentified, SARAPIS,[88] whose native country is taken by Gobl to be Egypt whence his worship came. Allan refers[89] to Artemis on the reverse of Kanishka's coin, not hitherto found on his various gold coins. This he identifies with Nandī. There are a few other names—wrongly spelt or unidentified ones.

The divinities on the Kushāṇa coins are varied in nature and representative in character—including Indian—both Brahmanical and Buddhist—, Iranian with a fairly long list, and Greek. Roman and Egyptian ones also figure in here and there. These testify to the enlarged boundaries of the Kushāṇa empire and their contacts with other peoples. The weight of their coins is an indication of their conforming to certain pattern or patterns while minting their coins meant for internal circulation and external trade.

Weight standards: The gold and copper coins of the Kushāṇa rulers were struck on a certain set-standard or standards. Earlier patterns and models were taken into consideration. The gold *dinar* of the Kushāṇas is approximately of the same size and weight as the Roman gold *aurei*, and the weight standard of the copper denominations is not unrelated to the earlier patterns of the kings who ruled in the North-Western region. It appears that in course of time, the values of the various denominations decreased. The constant weight was maintained though the quality of gold was debased. From a recent study of the weight standards of the gold and copper coins of Kushāṇa rulers by David W. Mac-Dowall, [90] and Maity[91] it becomes evident that the weight standard of the *dinar* of the greater Kushāṇas re-

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mained virtually the same, the percentage of pure gold that it contained was slightly but progressively reduced.

Wima Kadphises issued gold coins in three denominations[92]—double stater, stater and quarter stater of 248, 124 and 31 grains respectively. Kanishka retained only the stater denomination. His coins weigh near about 124 grains. The successors of Kanishka reintroduced quarter stater coins. The stater coins of Huvishka on an average weigh 124 grains. One such coin in the British Museum[93] weighs exactly 124 grains, and another 124.1[94] grains. The quarter stater gold coins of Huvishka in the British Museum weigh exactly 31 grains. Vāsudeva's gold coins are also of this weight. Two staters in the Punjab Museum weigh 121 and 123 grains, while another of a bigger size weighs only 115 grains.[95] His quarter stater weighs 31 grains.[96] The Later Kushāṇas also issued gold coins of these denominations. The gold staters of Kanesko,[97] evidently Kanishka are of 120, 121 and 122 grains, while the quarter one, noticed by Whitehead[98], weighs only 25 grains, although its size .55 is slightly more than an ordinary one. Vasu has both stater and quarter stater ones.[99] The stater weighs 119 grains, and the quarter one 30 grains.

The only silver coins supposed to be genuine include one of Wima Kadphises, noticed by Wilson and mentioned in Gardner's catalogue,[100] and two of Huvishka mentioned by Prof. Narain,[101] and another of the same ruler mentioned earlier by Mr. Dar.[102] The British Museum coin weighs 56.5 grains, while those of Huvishka weigh about 32 grains each, corresponding to the quarter stater. The British Museum one is nearly equal to the drachm of Attic standard of 66 grains. In the absence of regular issues of silver Kushāṇa coins, it is difficult to pronounce anything definite on this point.

Copper Kushāṇa coins found in abundance are of different denominations. These are not only didrachms of Persian standard weighing 160 grains, hemidrachm of the same standard weighing 40 grains and drachm of Indian standard weighing 58 grains, but also of high denomination—tetradrachms. The copper coins of Kujula Kadphises vary considerably in weight—of 156 grains, 167 grains and 148[103] grains, in the Punjab Museum cabinet. The lowest copper coin in the same cabinet of this ruler weighs 96-97 grains;[104] within these limits are didrachms of various denominations. He also issued hemidrachms of Persian standard weighing 40 grains. There are two coins of 22 and 32 grains respectively.[105] There are also drachms of Indian standard weighing exactly 58 grains[106] in the Punjab Museum cabinet, while there are also of 64 and 58 grains.[107] Some drachms of Indian standard are even of lower denominations.

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Wima Kadphises issued copper coins in three sizes and weights. The biggest one weighs 270 grains,[108] the stater ones of 122 and 128 [109] grains, and the smallest one of 65 grains.[110] The bigger coins seem to be on the model of the silver tetradrachm of Attic standard weighing 264 grains.[111] As suggested by Mac Dowall,[112] the weight standard to which the large copper coins of Wima Kadphises were struck is of course very different from that of the copper tetradrachm of Hermaeus. It is in fact, the normal weight standard of the Attic silver tetradrachm struck by the Indo-Greek kings in Bactria. Copper tetradrachms in two series—one of the Attic standard and another of the Indian standard—were also introduced.

Tetradrachm, didrachm and drachm that had been issued by Wima Kadphises were retained by Kanishka, introducing the hemidrachm as well. His tetradrachm coins weigh between 245-264 grains.[113] The weight of his copper didrachms of Persian standard varies between 122-136 grains.[114] The small coins weigh from 55-70 grains,[115] coins of this ruler of 26 grains have also been found.[116]

Huvishka also issued copper coins in all denominations. The tetradrachms of this ruler are found in the weight generally varying between 200-240 grains.[117] The weight of his didrachms range between 146 and 162 grains[118]—although the lowest limit comes down to 103,[119] and the highest goes upto 178 [120] or 180 [121] grains. There are also hemidrachms of Persian standard and drachms of Indian standard. Those in the former standard weigh from 28-31[122] grains, and in the latter from 52-69[123] grains.

Vāsudeva did not issue bigger coins. His copper coins are either didrachms and hemidrachms of Persian standard, or drachms of Indian standard. The didrachms vary between 109[124] and 154[125] grains. The hemidrachms of Persian standard are few. Their weights are 29, 31 and 35 grains.[126] The weight of the drachm of Indian standard ranges between 56-70 grains,[127] but the least is a mixed metal coin.

From a study of these weight standards of Kushāṇa coins it appears that continuity was desired but there was a tendency to reduce the weight. There is also disparity between the reduction in weight of the copper tetradrachm and the reduction in real value of the gold dinar.[128] Between Wima Kadphises and Vāsudeva the tetradrachm was sharply reduced to nearly half in weight, while the percentage of reduction of the gold dinar was hardly a little over 6 per cent. This might have been due to certain pressures, like the rise in the price of copper. The Kushāṇas, however, followed a uniform copper currency to meet the local needs, while the bigger gold coins were meant for large scale commercial transactions.

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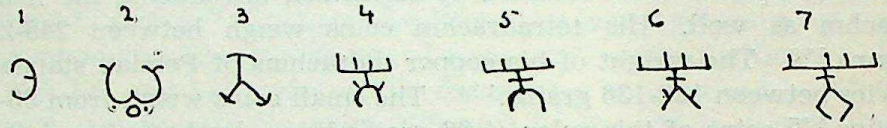
Monograms: The use of monograms on coins was not new to this period.[129] Their significance has, however, been a subject of discussion among scholars. According to Gardner,[130] monograms denoted mint cities, while Whitehead thought[131] these to signify the names of magistrates under whose authority the coins were struck. They could as well represent moneyers,[132] as presumed by Nowell and Wroth, but under the Kushāṇas the issue of coins was a concern of the State. It is suggested by Macdonald[133] that monograms show that the office of the magistrate attached to the mint was held in succession by the members of the same family; a practice followed, according to him, in other parts of the Hellenic world. The monograms which we notice on the Kushāṇa coins are as follows:—



These are mentioned in the order in which they appear on the coins. The coins of Kujula Kadphises bear only Nos. 1 & 2. Those of Wima Kadphises have Nos. 3, 4 & 5. There is a copper coin[134] of this ruler which has on the reverse Nos. 5 & 3 and another[135] bearing Nos. 2 & 4. The coins of Kanishka bear No. 4, alone, while those of his successor include the monograms of Wima Kadphises and Kanishka, with the addition of No. 6. One coin of Huvishka bears two monograms.[136] The coins of Vāsudeva bear No. 7. The later Kushāṇa coins possess the symbol of Vāsudeva's coins.

Taking the above data into consideration, we find that Gardener's theory is incredible, since two monograms sometime appear on coins. Would that indicate that those coins passed through two mints? Further, since Kanishka's coins bear only one symbol, could it imply that there was only one mint city in his time? These are difficulties standing in the way of accepting Gardner's theory. The same arguments apply against Whitehead's contention as well. The question of moneyers does not arise, as there was a uniform currency under the control of the State for the whole of the Kushāṇa empire. It should be necessary to get full details of finds of copper coins of Huvishka—who used different types of coins, bearing four symbols—from different regions, which might ultimately help us in suggesting if a particular type bearing a definite symbol or monogram was confined *in masse* to a particuar region. That might be an indication of the monograms, serving as mint marks, otherwise these stand for ornamentation purposes to fill in the space on the reverse of the coins.

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We have considered practically all aspects of Kushāṇa coinage—types and metals, legends, deities, weight standards and finally the monograms. The Kushāṇa rulers must have based their coinage on the model of their predecessors—taking into account other factors like the vastness of their domain, comprising of men of different nationalities, the economic pressure in the light of international trade, and the local needs. These also served as models for their successors in India—the earlier Guptas whose standard type is based on the standing king and altar design.

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1. CHI-I p. 343. We are told that the Persian *darics* and Roman *aurei* found their way to India in great quantities, but no *darics* were struck in Persia after 330 B.C., and gold was not coined at Rome in any quantity before the early Empire (Whitehead—*Catalogue of coins in the Punjab Museum*—CPM-Vol I. p. 5).
2. *Op. Cit.* p. 5. He also refers to the discovery of a twenty stater piece of Eucratides at Bukhara which caused a sensation in the numismatic world in the sixties of the last century. The medal itself is in the cabinet de France. *Bibliotheque Nationale,* Paris.
3. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures* 1921. p. 202.
4. Kushāṇa coins have been found in North Bengal (N.G. Majumdar, JASB (N.S.) XXVIII p. 12), from Sitabhunj, Keonjha dist. (Ram Chandran. JNSI. XIII. pp. 69 ib). A study of the Kushāṇa coins in Eastern India was made by A. Banerji. JNSI. XIII. i. p. 107. See also P.L. Gupta's reference to Kushāṇa hoards in his paper on the date of Kushāṇa currency in Eastern India. JNSI. XV. p. 185 ff. He suggests that the wide distribution was the outcome of the economic needs of the people in the post Kushāṇa period and it was not an indication of any political expansion of the Kushāṇas. Altekar noticed the Buxar hoard of Kushāṇa coins (JNSI. XII. Ib. 121 ib). A comprehensive reference to the finds of Kushāṇa coins in the Gandhāra region is given by Henri Deydier in his '*contribution á l'etude de l'art du Gandhāra* under *Index historique*). Ghirshman refers to the finds of Kushāṇa coins at Begram in his monumental work as well as in his *Cahier d'historic mondiale* in which he refers to Surkh Kotal and other places in Afghanistan where Kushāṇa coins were found. (*Journal of World History* III. 1957. pp. 3).
5. Whitehead—Op cit. pp. 170 If; Nos. 1-7, the name of the ruler in Greek appears on some coins in this type (ibid. nos. 8-15).
6. Whitehead—Op. cit. p. 180 Nos. 16-23.
7. ibid. p. 181 Nos. 24-28.
8. ibid. pp. 181-182. Nos. 29-30. The type, according to Whitehead, was first published by Smith in Part II of his *Numismatic Notes and Novelties.* JASB. 1897. He described the two little specimens as most remarkable. Later on he published a third similar Buddha coin of Kadphises, of the Zeus (described by him as a king or God) instead of the Śiva and Bull type, which according to him occupied the other side in the second coin. According to Whitehead, who possessed four specimens of this type, the two specimens published earlier were identical in type, and all were of one and the same type—that of Buddha, and the king or god usually called Zeus (Op. cit. 182 n).
9. Smith: *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum,* Vol. I p. 66; Gardner: *Catalogue of coins of the Scythians, Parthians* etc. in the *British Museum* p. 123, pl. XXV. 5.
10. Smith. Op. cit.
11. Ref. Chapter II. Note 10.
12. Ref. Chapter X. Notes 10-11. The portrait of Buddha on Kanishka coins is supposed to date the beginning of Gandhāra art.
13. Whitehead op. cit. p. 183 No. 31.
14. ibid. Nos. 32, 33.
15. ibid. p. 184. Nos. 34, 35.

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16. *Ariana Antiqua* p. 385.
17. 1835.
18. Wilson. Op. cit.p. 355 No. 8; Gardner. Op.cit. p. 126. Pl. XXV.11.
19. Whitehead: Op. cit. Ib. 184.5. Double stater Nos. 36-46; Stater 47-48; 49-52 of 65 grains
20. Op. Cit p. 388.
21. Cunningham. *Coins of the Kushāṇas.* Pl. XV. 14. Allan refers to a new Kushāṇa coins of the Kadphises riding on an elephant, commemmorating the conquest of India (*British Museum Quarterly.* VIII. p. 73).
22. Whitehead. Op. cit. Ib. 186-87. Nos.53-60; p. 194.
23. Op. cit. p. 186n. Allan refers to Artemis on reverse, not hitherto found on his various gold coins (BMQ. IV. p. 36).
24. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 186.
25. ibid. pp. 187-8. In the last size, Whitehead also refers to the type with the half-length portrait of king to left, with helm and diadem, and spear in left hand, and the bearded-deity AOPO radiated, with fillet in right hand and tongs in left. MAO, NANA and OHPO also are depicted individually on this type of quarter stater copper coins of Kanishka (p. 194—list of unrepresented types). It would be out of place here to notice the different divinities portrayed on the reverse of the coins of this ruler.
26. Whitehead p. 193n.
27. Op. cit. p. 129 No. 1, No. 4.
28. ibid. p. 136, No. 1; Whitehead p. 194. Nos. 116-136. Ajit Ghosh notices two rare gold coins of Huvishka—one showing the half-length figure of the king facing right and the Sun god on the reverse; and in the second the upper part of the king facing left emerging from clouds, and the figures of Skanda and Viśākha [and platform] facing each other nimbate on the reverse. (*Numismatic Supplement* No. XLV. p. 327), 1934 JASB) Prof. Narain refers to a unique gold coin of Huvishka from the Munich Museum. The king puts on a turban. The abundant issue of the gold coins of this Kushāṇa ruler, the varieties of the obverse and reverse types, unusual for a single king, led him to suggest that there were two Huvishkas, as hinted by Thomas and Allen (JRAS 1952, p. 108 ff.). He also quotes Wood that Huvishka issued more coin types than the combined issues of Wima Kadphises, Kanishka and Vāsudeva (JNSI. XXII. 1960 pp. 98.9).
29. ibid. p. 145. No. 80. Cunningham describes four different busts of Huvishka as found on his gold coins, referring those to the A, B, C and D types—Num. Chron., 1892 p. 98, I.M. Cat. I. p. 75—Whitehead refers to only B & C types in the Punjab Museum cabinet p. 194 n. Sankalia refers to a rare gold coin of Huvishka—of the Sharewar type with the legend on the obverse beginning from right and ending to the left (JNSI. I. p. 9). For a detailed study of the gold coin types of the Great Kushāṇas—See Wood's Monograph—Numismatic Society's Monograph No. 9).
30. Dar. JNSI. II. p. 113. Prof. Narain also refers to two silver coins of Huvishka from the State Museum, Berlin. He has questioned the genuiness of Dar's coin, as well as twelve others noticed by Altekar (JNSI. XIV ff. 34-40). A few silver coins published earlier are of Kanishka in the Indian Museum. (ASI. An. Rep. 1925-26 Pl. LXF), another in the Asiatic Society, Bombay (JBBRAS. XXIV p. 384 and ff) are also noticed by him. The two Berlin coins have 7 Kharoshṭhī letters.
31. Op. cit. p. 150 No. 140. The king r. diademed and nimbate, rides on an elephant, holding spear and elephant goad. Coins with the elephant rider to the left instead of right are extremely rare. (Whitehead p. 199 n. 2).
32. Gardner. Op. cit. p. 145. No. 80.
33. Op.cit. Ib. 198 ff.; Nos. 137-208. Whitehead made no attempt to distinguish between the varieties of the main types, nor did he subdivide the copper coins of Huvishka according to their weights (p. 206 n.). Altekar refers to a stater of Huvishka with bird on his hand (JNSI. XI. p. 49; cf. BMC. Pl. XXVIII. 9. p. 148). The ear of corn is taken by Altekar to be the bird.
34. Whitehead. Op. cit. Ib. 208ff.—Nos. 209-214; 215, 226.
35. ibid. p. 210. Nos. 227-230.
36. ibid. p. 211 pl. XX. No. xii.
37. ibid. Pl. XX. No. xi.
38. JNSI. XIII. pp. 126-7, Pl. VII. 10. Śiva is portrayed in different forms—two-armed and four-armed, as well as with one or several faces, and with different attributes, alone, in company with another goddess—very probably his con-

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sort Nana=Ambā—on the Kushāṇa coins. It would be difficult to classify the Kushāṇa coins on the basis of the divinities in different forms, but it should be possible to consider individual deities retained on the coins of these rulers. Prof. J.N. Banerjea considered the Brahmanical deities on ancient Indian coins from the iconographic point of view. (*Development of Hindu Iconography*—2nd ed. ff. 121 ff.).

39. Whitehead: Op. cit. pp. 211-12. Nos. 231-35.
40. ibid. p. 212 Nos. 236-237.
41. *Numismatic Supplement.* XLIV. p. 308.
42. The second type of the Later Kushāṇa coins with the standing king on the observe, and Ardoksho on the reverse—identified with Lakshmī represented as sitting on a throne and holding a cornucopia, was taken as the model for the earliest and commonest form of Samudragupta's issues. Following this standing king model very closely in the standard type, the Gupta king wears Kushāṇa dress, a Kushāṇa symbol still appears on the reverse. Garudadhvaja replaces Siva's trident on the obverse. (Brown: *The Coins of India* p. 42; Altekar: *The Coins of the Gupta rulers* pp. 15-16).
43. A solitary bi-lingual coin of Kanishka is known (Gardner. op. cit. p. 175 No 1.).
44. The first title was used by Diodotos, Euthydemos I, Demetrius, Agathocles, Antimachos Theos (with Megaloi) Eucratides, Heliocles, Lysias, Antialkidas, Archebios, Apollodotus, Strato I, Strato with Agathokleia, Polyxenos; Menander; Dionysios, Zoilos, Apollophanes, Artemidoros, Antimachos, Nikephoros, Philoxenos, Nikias, Hippostratos (with Megaloi), Theophilos, Amyntas, Telephos, Peukalaos, Strato I and Hermaios (Whitehead: *Catalogue* pp. 1 ff). The fuller title Basileus Basileon along with Megaloi was used by Maues, Azes, Azilises, Vonones with Spalahores and Spalagadames, Gondophernes, Abdagases, Pakores and Soter Megas (without Megaloi) (ibid pp. 87-168).
45. JRAS. 1913, p. 1014.
46. Wroth: *Catalogue of the coins of Parthia,* p. 165.
47. Whitehead: Op. cit.
48. CII. III. ff. 10 ff.
49. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 188.
50. ibid. pp. 178, 179.
51. ibid. p. 180, Nos. 20, 22.
52. JRAS. 1924. p. 397. No. 3.
53. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 183.
54. Gardner: Op. cit. pp. 79, 93, 103.
55. *D. R. Bhandarkar Volume* pp. 281 ff.
56. Ref. Appendix B on '*List of Kushāṇa inscriptions*'.
57. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures* 1921. p. 17.
58. Gardner: Op. cit. ff. 34, 40, 44, 103.
59. Bhandarkar: *Carmichael Lectures,* 1921. p. 17; Bhaveśa or Bhava is one of the eight names given to Rudra in the *Atharvaveda* and also in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (R.G. Bhandarkar—*Vaishnavism, Saivism* etc. p. 105). For a description of Śiva on the Kushāṇa coins see Banerjea: *Development of Hindu Iconography.* ff. 121 ff. The most notable representation on Kushāṇa coins, is the multiplication of his hands, and heads and the varying nature of the attributes placed in his hands. On Wima Kadphises coins he is always two-armed holding a trident or battle axe, the left hand hanging down carries a water vessel. The treatment of *jaṭā* differs in individual specimens. On a copper coin, the deity seems to be polycephalous (Cunningham. Op. cit. Pl. XV. fig. 11). New orientation—both in two-armed and four-armed figures found, invariably without his bull,—is given by Kanishka and Huvishka. The deity holds a trident in the right hand and a gourd in the left. On some copper coins he grasps a spear or a staff with the right hand and the left resting on a club. Of several types of gold and copper coins—the four armed Śiva wears a necklace or garland with different sets of attributes holding Vajra, a water vessel with mouth downwards, an antelope in the lower left, and on some specimens—an elephant goad with the water vessel. On some copper coins—he holds noose in lower hand. Some gold coins of Huvishka show three-faced and four-armed Śiva, holding water vessel, the thunderbolt, trident and club respectively in four hands (Banerjea—Op. cit. Pl. IX. fig. 16; See also Gardner: op. cit. p. 148 Pl. XXVIII. 16 with the goad, wheel, trident and thunderbolt in his hands. On other gold coins, Siva appears one faced with more or less the same attributes, an antelope being placed in the lower right hand. A unique gold coin of Vāsudeva, described by Cunningham, has

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Śiva with three heads and four arms, standing to front, holding water vessel, His mount bull has got a bell attached to its neck. (Op. cit. Pl. III. p.74). The one-headed and two-armed Siva served as a prototype of the devices of some of the later Kushāṇa coins, and those of the Kushāṇa-Sassanian rulers and of many Hindu princes of India, like the kings of Kashmir (Banerjea: Op. cit. p. 127). Altekar refers to a unique coin type of Vāsudeva showing Śiva with elephant. (JNSI. XIII. pp. 126-7. Pl. VII. 10-11).

60. Whitehead: Op. cit p. 197. No. 135.
61. Ibid. p. 215, No. X (Supplementary list).
62. Ibid, p. 191, No. 97.
63. Gardner. Op. cit p. 168, No. IV.
64. I.A. 1888. p. 98.
65. *Karur-aham tato bhishaj gupalaprakshiṇī nanā.* ix. 112.3.
66. I. 37-38.
67. Gopinath Rao: *Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I, Pt. II, p. 388.
68. Sometimes these appear separately. Mahāsena is represented alone on a coin. This male deity is facing, nimbate and diademed. He is clad in coat and chalmys. He holds in right hand a standard surmounted by bird, and in left hand a sword to right. There is a symbolical mark. In two coins—showing Skanda and Kumāra together, Skanda holds in right hand standard surmounted by bird, while Viśākha holds in left hand a spear, and between them is the symbol No. 5 on one coin and No. 6 on the other (Gardner: Op. cit. p. 149. Nos. 111, 113) Kumāra also appears singly on a coin, bearded and the mace or sceptre in his right hand, and a book in the left. Wilson: *Ariana Antiqua* p. 376 n. 11). Cunningham and, following him, Whitehead refer to two coins—(Cat. p. 207). In one Skanda, Kumāra and Viśākha appear together while in the other names of all the four appear (Nos. XII & XIII). According to the iconography of these divinities, as represented in the *Kumāratantra* (Rao—Op. cit Vol. II, Pt, p. 433). Skanda should be represented with one face and two arms. The loin is to be bound by a broad belt, and the figure be fastened by the solitary clothing Kaupīna. The right hand is to keep *daṇḍa,* while the left one is to rest upon the hip. Though the minute details are not observed, but in its broad features, the figure seems to conform with the iconographic details.
69. MIIPO. (Whitehead No. 61 ff), MIOPO (Nos. 68 ff.) MIYPO (Nos 73-74) MIOPO (unrepresented quarter stater p. 198. No. XIII, among the coins of Kanishka. MIPO (Nos. 119 ff), MIOPO (Nos. 138 ff), MIOPO (Nos. 173), MEIPO (No. 189) on the coins of Huvishka. On a coin of Huvishka, MIIPO and MAO—the Sun and the lunar deities face each other (No. 124).
70. The wind-god, undraped and radiate, running to left, figures on the coins of Kanishka. (Op. cit. No. 83 ff), Huvishka (Nos. 155-157, 202). According to Whitehead, OADO coins of Huvishka are very rare. Cunningham knew of only two, and four were in the Punjab Museum cabinet. This name is found only on the copper coins of Kanishka and Huvishka.
71. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 194. No. VI (Unrepresented in the Punjab Museum catalogue)—on coins of Kanishka.
72. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 194 No. IX (unrepresented) on Kanishka's coin; On Huvishka's coins Nos. 130, 131, 161, p. 207, No. XX in standing posture the goddess is seated on throne to front, holding fillet and cornucopiae on the two coins of Vasu (Whitehead. p. 212) Nos. 236, 237). According to Robert Gobl, the aspect of the goddess carrying cornucopia must have corresponded to the Roman Fortuna (See his paper on *Roman patterns for Kushāṇa coins.* JNSI. XXII. 1960. p. 83). Gardner places her in the list of Indian deities taking the legend to be the transcription of Aroha Ugra or consort of Śiva Viz. Pārvatī. Haffman considered her to be the Persian Ashia, daughter of Ahuro-goddess of fortune. She is taken by others to be Lakshmī, the Indian goddess of fortune (BMC, p. XIV).
73. Whitehead: *Op. cit.* pp. 181-82. Nos. 29-30; p. 194. No. X. (unrepresented coins). BMC. 130 (Pl. 26.8). A study of the Buddha coins is made by Ingholt in his work on *Gandhārian art in Pakistan,* p. 25, Pt. III. 23, 4 & 5. The iconography of the Buddha image is discussed in the chapter on Art and Architecture.
74. JNSI. VIII. pp. 61.
75. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 194 (unrepresented ones. No. VIII). MBC. p. 136 (Pl. 27.28); Huvishka. Op. cit. Nos. 126-128. The male deity (god of fire), radiates to left, with purse in outstretched right hand and long sceptre in left

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76. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 194, No. XVIII, p. 207—No. IX (both unrepresented ones). According to Robert Gobl this type corresponds to the Ares Mars type of Pius in Alexandria as well as in Rome. The deity forms the male counterpart of Rishno (JNSI. XXII. p. 87).
77. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 197, No. 132 showing winged goddess to left with palm in left hand and wreath in out stretched right hand.
78. Gardner: BMC. 144, 71 (Pl. 28.7); Stein: Op. cit. p. 53.
79. Ibid. 136, 4 (Pl. 27a), Stein: *Op. cit.* pp. 97-8. Whitehead: p. 207, No. 1 (unrepresented types). Altekar noticed a gold coin of this type of Kanishka. The bearded deity called Arooaspo by him, stands to right clad in sleeved overcoat, wreath in right hand, caprisoned and briddled. The horse stands besides the deity. This deity Arooaspo is very rarely found on the coins of Kanishka or Huvishka. It stands for Aurvatashpa—'the swift-horsed one,' an Avestan epithet of the Sun or Mihira. (JNSI. VIII. p. 60.)
80. Whitehead: *Op. cit.* p. 196 No. 128. The deity stands to right, radiate, with right hand at side, and long filleted staff in left hand; For this deity on Huvishka's coin, see Whitehead. p. 207, No. xxv.
81. This deity probably appears on the seated Buddha type quarter stater of Kujula Kadphise (Whitehead: *Op. cit.* p. 181, No. 29, 30).
82. Whitehead: *Op. cit.* p. 186. No. 53. Stater of Kanishka in copper. The Sun-god, stands to left, radiate, with the characteristic halo of sun rays behind head.
83. ibid. p. 201 No. 162. Herakles with club and lion's skin stands to front. This type disappears under Kanishka.
84. ibid. p. 194 No. iii (unrepresented).
85. ibid. p. 194 No. ii.
86. ibid. p. 207 No. x: Robert Gobl questions the reading. He suggests Rishno and the type is taken from the Roman Pallas—Minerva type (JNSI. XXII p. 86).
87. Whitehead: p. 194. No. xii (unrepresented one); p. 196 No. On a quarter stater of Huvishka he is seated to front on couch with head turned to right.
88. Whitehead: p. 207 No. xxiv.
89. *British Museum Quarterly.* IV. p. 36.
90. JNSI. XXII. pp. 63 ff.
91. ibid. XVIII. pp. 187 ff.
92. Whitehead: Op. cit. ff. 183-4.
93. Gardner: Op. cit. No. 71.
94. ibid No. 125.
95. Whitehead: Op. cit p. 208; Cf. No. 209 & 211.
96. ibid Nos. 212-14.
97. ibid Nos. 231-34.
98. ibid No. 235.
99. ibid No. 236; No. 237.
100. BMC. *Greek and Scythic kings.* Pl. XXV. 11.
101. JNSI. XXII. ff. 99.
102. ibid. II. p. 113. Pl. X. 7.
103. Whitehead: Op. cit. pp. 178 ff, Nos. 3, 16, 19.
104. ibid, Nos. 11, 4.
105. ibid, Nos. 22, 29.
106. ibid, No. 12.
107. ibid Nos. 20, 12.
108. ibid No. 36.
109. ibid Nos. 32, 47.
110. ibid No. 65.
111. Whitehead: Op. cit. p. 183, No. 31.
112. JNSI. XII. p. 69.
113. Whitehead: Op. cit ff. 188 ff. Nos. 75, 97.
114. ibid Nos. 61, 79. There is a coin of 138 grains (No. 86).
115. ibid Nos. 73, 110.
116. ibid No. 82.
117. ibid No. 141, No. 195 weighing 267 grains.
118. ibid No. 151.
119. ibid No. 149.
120. ibid No. 140.
121. ibid No. 143.
122. ibid Nos. 123, 135, 177.
123. ibid Nos. 184, 185.
124. Op. cit No. 219.

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125. ibid No. 215.
126. ibid Nos. 224, 212, 223.
127. ibid Nos. 225-226.
128. JNSI XXII. p. 73, based on the weights and analysis given by S.K. Maity, JNSI. XVIII. ff. 187 ff.
129. The monograms are noticed on the Seleucid kings and kings of Parthia and also on the coins of the Greek & Parthian rulers of North West India—A comprehensive list and figures of monograms is given by Whitehead (Op. cit back of page 217).
130. Op. cit p. liv.
131. *Numismatic Notes and Novelties*, p. 437.
132. *The Seleucid mint of Antioch* 1918 p. 10; *Catalogue of the coins of Parthia* p. XXXIII.
133. *Coins from Seleneca*, p. 168.
134. Gardner: Op. cit. p. 124, No. 3.
135. Whitehead: Op. cit p. 184, No. 34.
136. Gardner: ibid p. 159.

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APPENDIX B

LIST OF INSCRIPTIONS OF THE KUSHĀNA PERIOD

Kharoshthī Records.

1. KANISHKA CASKET INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR I.

Ref :— ASI. Fr. Cir. 1907-8pp 17 ff. 1908-9pp. 14 ff. ASI. An. Rep. 1908-9 pp. 38 ff. 1909-10 pp. 195 ff.; JRAS. 1909 pp. 1056 ff; CII. Vol. II. pt. I. pp. 134 ff.; IC. Vol. VII pp. 253 ff; Majumdar's List No. 60.

Frag:— Records dedication of the Casket (by) Agiśala, the Navakarmika in Kanishka's Vihāra, in Mahāsena's, saṅghārāma in the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teacher.

2. SUI VIHĀR COPPER PLATE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR II.

Ref :— JASB. XXXIX i, 1870 pp. 65 ff: JRAS. 1869 pp. 477 ff.; JASB. XXXIX 1870 p. 65; IA. X 1881 pp. 324 ff XI 1882 pp. Vol. XXXVII 1908 pp. 47. 55; Asutosh Mookerjee Silver Jubilee Vol. III. i. 1922 pp. 459; JRAS. 1920 pp. 203-205: EI. XIV p. 136; CII. Vol. I pt. I pp. 138 ff.

Frag:— Records the raising of the staff by the friar Nāgadatta, disciple of the teacher Dhamatrāta, the disciple of the teacher Bhava, in Damana on the 18th day of the month Daisios year 11, during the reign of the Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kanishka.

3. ZEDA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 11.

Ref :— JRAS. XXXII, 1863 p. 5: ASI. V. 1875 pp. 59 ff; JA VIII XV, 1890 pp. 125 ff; X. III 1904 pp. 465 ff; EI. XIX pp. 1 ff; JRAS IX 1877 p. 9: 1894 p. 535 I.A. XXXVII 1908 pp. 46, 72; Majumdar's List No. 95; CIII. Vol. II pt. I. pp. 142 ff.

Frag:— Records the digging of a well, and a water giver as the gift of Hipea Dhia for the increase of the Sarvāstivāda in honour of Kshatrapa Liaka, on the 20th day of the month Āshāḍha in Uttaraphalguna, year 11 during the reign of the Lord, the Mārjhaka Kanishka.

4. MĀṆIKIALA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18.

Ref :— JASB. III 1834 pp. 557 f; XXII 1854 pp. 703 ff. JRAS. XX 1863 pp. 250 ff. ASI. II 1871 pp. 16 ff. JRAS. 1909 pp. 645. 1914 pp. 641 ff. 1003 ff; Majumdar's List No. 36; CII. Vol. II pp. 145 ff.

Frag:— Records the establishment of several relics of the Lord Buddha by Lala, a scion of the Kushāṇa family,

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the donation master of the Kshatrapa Veśpasi along with the Vihāra architect (Navakarmika) Burita on the 20th day of the month of Kārttika during the reign of the Mahārāja Kanishka.

5. MĀṆIKIALA BRONZE CASKET INSCRIPTION.

Ref :— JASB. III 1834: XIV i. 1845 p. 432: JRAS. XX, 1863 pp. 244 ff.: EI. Vol. XII pp. 199 f; JA. VIII XV, 1890 p. 134; Majumdar's List No. 37: CII. Vol. II pt. I p. 150 f.

Frag:— Gift of the Kanishka Kshatrapa, the son of the Kshatrapa G(r)aṇavhryaka.

6. MĀṆIKIALA SILVER DISK INSCRIPTION.

Ref :— Same as in No. 5.

Frag:— Gift of Gomana.

7. BOX-LID INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18.

Ref :— JASB. XXXI 1862 p. 303; Princep: *Essays i. p. 161:* JRAS. XX 1863 pp. 232, 254, Majumdar's List Addenda (i); CII. Vol. II pt. I p. 151 f.

Frag:— Records the enshrinment of Śramana Gotama's relic on the 10th day in the month of Artemissos year 18.

8. KURRAM CASKET INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 20.

Ref :— ASI. Fr. Cir. 1917-8 p. 2: EI. Vol. XVIII p. 16 ff.; Majumdar's List No. 26: CII. Vol. II pt. I pp. 152 ff.

Frag:— Records the establishment of relic of the Lord Sākyamuni in his own grove by Sveda-Varma, son of Yasa for the acceptance of the Sravāstivāda teachers, the year 20 on the 20th day of the month of Avadunaka. It also contains *pratītya samutpāda* written down by Mahīpati.

9. PESHAWAR MUSEUM INSCRIPTION No. 21.

Ref :— ASI. Fr. Cir. 1916-17 pp. 6.27, Majumdar's List No. 55; CII. Vol. II pt. I p. 155 ff.

Frag:— Records the digging of a well by Brāhmaṇa Vāsudeva, son of Indradeva, a resident of Obhara (the name of the king and the date of the record are mutilated).

10. SHAKARDARRA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40.

Ref :— IA. XXXVII 1908 p. 66; J & PASB. XVIII, 1922 pp. 61 ff. Majumdar's List No. 61; CIII. Vol. II pt. I p. 159.

Frag:— Records the digging of a well at the śāla ferry as the gift of Droṇipadra companions on the 20th day of the month of Praushṭhapada year 40.

11. RAWAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40.

Ref :— CII. Vol. II pt. I p. 161 f.

Note:— A spurious record. Illegible.

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12. WARDHAK INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 51.

Ref :— Ariana Antiqua 1841 pp. 117 f.; JRAS. XXX. 1861, pp. 337 ff.; JRAS. XX, 1863 pp. 255 Prinsep-Essays i; pp. 161 ff.—JRAS. 1812 pp. 1060 f.; EI; Vol; XI pp; 202 ff.; JRAS. 192 pp. 126 ff.; JA. XI, IV, 1914 pp. 569 ff.; IA. XXXVII 1908 pp. 30; Majumdar's List No. 93, CII. Vol. II pt. I. p. 165 ff. —JRAS. 1905 p. 647; 1906 p. 214; 1909 pp. 661, 665; 1913 p. 141, 1927 p. 232 f.; SBAW. 1913 p. 418; JA. XI, XII.

Frag:— Records the establishment of the relic of the Lord Śākyamuni in the Vagramarega Vihāra, in a stūpa at Khawat on the 15th day of the month of Artemisos year 51, by the Kamagulya Scion Vagramarega. This Vihāra was for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers.

13. UND INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 61.

Ref :— JASB. XXIII 1854 p. 765; XXXII 1863 p. 145; ASI. V. 1875 p. 58. JRAS. XX, 1863 pp. 233 and 165: 1909 pp. 665 f.; JA. VIII. XV 1890 pp. 130, 138; EI. Vol. XIV p. 137; AO. III pp. 77 ff; III pp. 83 ff; Majumdar's List No. 92, CII. Vol. II pt. I pp. 170 ff.

Frag:— Records the digging of a well in Purvāshāḍa on the 8th day of the month Chaitra year 61.

14. MAMANE DHERI PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 89.

Ref :— CIII. Vol. II pt. I pp. 171 F.

Frag:— Records the bestowal of religious gift by Śramana Dharmapriya in honour of his teacher Buddhapriya on the study in the month of Mārgaśirasa year 85.

15. MOHENJODARO FRAGMENTS.

Ref :— CII. Vol. II pt. I p. 173.

Frag:— Illegible: Characters seem to belong to the time of or after Kanishka.

16. *TOR DHERAI INSCRIBED POTSHERDS.*

Ref :— ASI. Fr. Cir. 1915-16 p. 36; Majumdar's list Addenda No. III, Luder's List No. 38.

Frag:— Records the donation of a water well by Shāhi Yola Mīra, the master of the Vihāra in his own Vihāra for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādin teachers.

17. *ARA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 41.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. XXXVII, 1908 pp. 58 ff.; SBAW. 1912 pp. 824 ff.; IA. Vol. XIII 1913; pp 132 ff.: JRAS. 1909 p. 652; EI. Vol. XIV pp. 130 ff.; JBBRAS. New series I, pp 1 ff:; JRAS. 1913 pp. 97 ff:; Majumdar's List No. 1.

Frag:— Records the digging of the well by Dashabhra of the Peshawarian Scions on the 25th day the month of

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Svaistha year 41 during the reign of Mahārāja Rājādhirāja Devaputra Kaisara Kanishka.

GREEK INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA

1. *THE GRAND INSCRIPTION OF KANISHKA OF THE YEAR 31.*

Ref :—JA. Vol. 246. pp. 345 ff.

Frag:— A connected translation of the inscription has not been published. It is dated in the year 31 and refers to the victorious king Kanishka, and the temple of fire.

B—*LIST OF DATED BRĀHMĪ RECORDS OF THE KUSHĀṆA PERIOD (A) KANISHKA'S GROUP*

1. *KOSAM BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF YEAR 2.*

Ref :— Cal. Rev. July 1934 p. 83 f.; Goswami: EI. XXIV pp. 210.2.

Frag:— The epigraph dated in the second year of Mahārāja Kanishka, the second month of winter (Hemanta) and the eighth day, records the erection of a Bodhisattva statue by the nun Bodhimitrā.

2. *SĀRNĀTH BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 3.*

Ref :— Sahni: Cat. Sarnath Museum Nos. B(a) 1 EI. Vol. VIII p. 196 ff. Nos. III a, III b, IIId.

Frag:— These three inscriptions inscribed on the front, back and a little above the Bodhisattva statue, record the dedication of this statue, and an umbrella with a post by Faiar Bala along with Mahākshatrapa Kharapallāna and Kshatrapa Vanaspara at Benares where the Lord used to walk on the 22nd day, the 3rd Month of winter year of Mahārāja Kanishka.

3. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TILA, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 4.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 201 No. 11.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 33 No. 1. Lüder's List No. 16.

Frag:— Records the gift by (Name mutilated) on the 20th day the first month of summer year 4, out of the Vāraṇagaṇa, Ārya Haṭṭakīya Kula and Varjanāgarī Śakhā.

4. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 4.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 201 No. 12. IA. XXXIII p. 33 f. No. 2. Lüder's List No. 17.

Frag:— Mentions the preacher (Vāchaka) Āryya..... out of the Koṭṭiya (gaṇa), gift in the fourth month of summer year 5 (Rest mutilated).

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5. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TILA NOW LUCKNOW PROVINCIAL MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE. INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 381 f. No. 1.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 34 f. No. 4.; Lüder's List No. 18.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the daughter of Pāla (name mutilated) out of the Koṭṭiyagana, the Brahmadāsika Kula and Ucchairnāgarī Śākhā on the 1st day in the 1st month of winter year 5 of Devaputra Kanishka.

6. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 5.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 36 No. 2.; Almanch der wiener Akademic XXXVII p. 266 f.; VOJ. Vol. I p. 176 No. 5; IV p. 170. IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 36 f. No. 5.; Lüder's List No. 19.

Frag:— Records dedication at the request of (name mutilated) out of the Koṭṭiyagaṇa, Brahmadāsika kula, Uchchirnāgarī Śākhā and Srigriha Saṁbhoga on the 12th day the first month of winter year 5.

7. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW MATHURĀ MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 31 No. 3.; JA. Ser. IX Vol. XV p. 573 f. Lüder's List No. 20.

Frag:— Records dedication at the request of Ārya Ksheraka out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Uchchairnāgarī Śākhā and Brahmadāsika kula on the 20th day in winter of the year 5.

8. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 7.*

Ref :— VOJ. Vol. II p. 141 ff.; EI. Vol. I p. 391 No. 19. Lüder's List No. 21.

Frag:— Records the gift of Ārya-Jaya out of the Ārya-Uddehikīya gaṇa, Nāgabhūtikīya kula, and Arya Goshṭha Śākhā on the 15th day the first month of winter year 7 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Kanishka.

9. *MATHURĀ BUDDHIST IMAGE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 8.*

Ref :— JUPHS. July 1937 pp. 1 ff. No. 8. Gupte. EI. XVII pp. 10 ff.

Frag:— Records gift of Nun Buddhadāsī on 23rd day the fourth month of the rainy season year 8.

10. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TĪLĀ) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 9.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 31 No. 4. Almanch der Wiener Akademic XXXVIII p. 266 f.; VOJ. Vol. I p. 183 f. No. 2.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 37 No. 6.; Lüder's List No. 22.

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Frag:— Records dedication by Vikaṭa at the request of the preacher (Vāçhaka) Nāganandin, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula and Vajrī Śākhā on the 5th day the first month of the year 9 of Mahārāja Kanishka.

11. *JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 9.*

Ref :— JRAS. 1914 p. 157 No. 3.; EI. Vol. X p. 105 ff.

Frag:— Records dedication by Grahapata at the request of Tarakputa of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sthānīya kula, and Vajrī Śākhā on the 10th day in the third month of year 9.

12. *BRITISH MUSEUM INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 10.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. X p. 326; Vol. XXXIII p. 34 ff No. 4; JA. Ser. VIII Vol. XV p. 137; Ser IX Vol. VII p. 8.; EI. Vol. IX p. 239 ff. Lüder's List No. 23.

Frag:— Records the gift of a temple (harmya) in the Northern Navamika (?) to the goddess of the village on the 9th day in the second month of summer year 10 of Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka.

13. *KANSKHAR (MATHURĀ) BODHISATTVA IMAGE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 10.*

Ref :— JUPHS. July 1939 pp. 22 ff. No. 13.

Frag:— Records dedication of Bodhisattva image by monk Nāgadatta to the Krausṭhikīya Vihāra in the year 10 Mahārāja Kanishka.

14. *JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 12.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. IX p. 239 ff. No. 2.

Frag:— Records dedication by a donoress belonging to the carpenter class Vaḍḍhakin (Skt Vardhakin) at the request of the Ārya Puśila out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa Brahmadāsika kula, Uchchairnāgarī Śākhā on the 11th day in fourth month of rainy season year 12.

15. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 16.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 382 No. 2.; ASI Vol. p. 46. Luder's List No. 24.

Frag:— Records dedication of a fourfold image of Bhagavat by Kumāramitrā, wife of Śresṭhin (name mutilated) out of the Mahika kula on the 1st day of the third month of summer year 15.

16. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE*

INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18.

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXIX p. 314. VOJ. Vol. V p. 178.; EI. Vol. II p. 202 No. XIII. Luder's List No. 25.

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Frag:— Records dedication of a fourfold image by Magisi (?) out of the Koṭṭiyagaṇa, Vatslīya kula.

17. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 18.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXIX p. 142.; VOJ. Vol. V p. 62.; EI. Vol. II p. 202 No. XIV.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 33 f. No. 3. Lüder's List No. 26.

Frag:— Records the setting up of an image of Bhagvat Arishṭanami by Mitraśrī on the 16th day the second month of the rainy season year 18.

18. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 19.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXIX p. 142. VOJ. Vol. V. p. 62.; EI. Vol. I p. 382 No. 3. Luder's List No. 27.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Bhagvat Śāntinātha by (donors name mutilated) out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, Āryavajarī Śakhā and Śrigriha Saṁbhoga on the 10th day of the fourth month of the rainy season year 19.

19. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE*

ff. No. 1. III p. 235.; EI, Vol. I p. 395 No. 28. Luder's List No. 28.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the Śrāvikā Dinā out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, Vajrī Sākhā, Srikiya Saṁbhoga on the 15th day of the first month of summer year 20.

INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 20.

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 31 No. 6.; Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXVIII p. 266 f. VOJ. Vol. I p. 170

20. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 20.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 383 No. 4.; Luder's List No. 29.

Frag:— Records dedication by Mitrā wife of Phaggudevā, daughter-in-law of the Lohakāra Vihra and daughter of the Maṇikāra Jayabhaṭṭi, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Brahmadasika kula, Uchchanagārikā Śākhā and Srigriha Sambhoga on the 17th day of the third (?) month of summer year 20.

21. *MATHURĀ STONE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 20.*

Ref :— JRAS. 1924 p. 397 No. 1.;

Frag:— Records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image on the fourth month of winter year 20 of Mahāraja Kanishka (day and donor's name mutilated).

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22. *MATHURĀ ĀYĀGAPAṬA (TABLET OF HOMAGE) INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 21.*

Ref :— JUPHS. July 1937 pp pp. 1. No. 9.

Frag:— Records the dedication of this tablet for the worship of the arhats on the 26th day of the second month of year 21.

23. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 22.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 32 No. 7.; Vos. V p. 230.; EI. Vol. I p. 395 No. XXIX; Lüder's List No. 30.

Frag:— Records the gift of Dharmmasvāminī, wife of a Sārthavāhana in the first month of summer year 22.

24. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 22.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXV p. 381.; VOJ. Vol. III pp. 235, 238 No. 1.; EI. Vol. I p. 391 No. XX. Luder's List No. 31.

Frag:— Records the setting up of a statue of Vardhamāna out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Petivāmika kula on the 7th day of the second month of summer year 22 (?).

25. *MATHURĀ (MĀT) BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 23.*

Ref :— JRAS. 1924 p. 397 ff No. 2.

Frag:— Records the setting up of this statue by Pushyadatta first month of summer of the year 23 in the reign of Mahārāja Kanishka.

26. *MATHURĀ (KĀNKĀLĪ ṬĪLA NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 25.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 384 No. 5.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 37 f. No. 7. Luder's List No. 32.

Frag:— Records dedication by a Rayaginī (taken by Lüder's to be the wife of a rajaka-washerman) out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Brahmadāsika kula, Uchchairnāgarith Sākhā on the 20th day third month of winter year 25.

27. *THE SAHET-MAHET BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KING KANISHKA.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. LXVIII 1898 pt. I pp. 274 ff.; EI. Vol. VIII p. 180. Luder's List.

Frag:— Records the setting up of a Bodhisattva with an umbrella and a shaft at Śrāvastī in the Kosambakuṭī, by Monk Bala on the 19th day in the month and year (mutilated) of Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka (?) of No. 3.

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28. *MATHURĀ FRAGMENTARY SEATED BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.*

Ref :— Growse: Mathurā pt.II p. 173.; IA. Vol. VI p. 217 No. 1; Vol. XXXIII p. 38 ff. No. 8. Vogal: Cat. Mat. Mus. No. 449. Lüders List No. 33.; JRAS. 1905 p. 358.

Frag:— Records dedication of the day (mutilated) in the third month of winter year 28 of king (Kaṇi)shka (?).

Note:— Growse who was the first to read it, suggested the king's name as Kanishka.

29. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF KANISHKA.*

Ref :— JABS. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 129 No. 16.; ASR. Vol. III p. 31 No. 5. IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 149 f. No. 25. Lüder's List No. 7.

Frag:— Only the name of (Maha)rājā Rājātirāja Kanishka appears.

(B) HUVISHKA'S GROUP

30. *MATHURĀ BRĀHMĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. XXI p. 55 ff. No. 10.

Frag:— Records a perpetual endowment *(akshayanīvī)* of 550 purāṇas in each of the two guilds of samitākara (wheat flour) and raka (name mutilated) for feeding a hundred Brahmins in the Puṇyaśālā and provisions—three *āḍhaka* groats, one *prastha* salt, one *śaktu,* three *ghaṭaka* and five *mallaka* of green vegetables to be kept at the entrance to the hall for the sake of the destitute people, hungry and the thirsty by some lord of Bakana and Kharasalera on the first day of Gorpiaos in the year 28. The merit accrued to the Devaputra Shāhi Huvishka.

31. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 29.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 385 No. 6.; JRAS. 1903 pp. 331 f. Luders List No. 34.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Bodhinanda out of the Vāraṇagaṇa and Pusyamitrīya kula on the 30th day of the 2nd month of winter year 29.

32. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 31.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 202 No. 15. Luders List No. 36.

Frag:— Records dedication by Grahaśrī out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa Arya-Vajrī Śākhā and Sthānīya kula on the 10th day, the first month of the rainy season year 31.

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33. *MATHURĀ BUDDHA IMAGE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 31.*

Ref :— Vogel. Cal. Mat. Mus. No. A. 71.

Frag:— Huvishka's name and probably the year 31 alone appear in one line.

34. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 32.*

Ref :— El. Vol. II p. 202 No. 16. Lüder's List No. 37.

Frag:— Records dedication of a fourfold (*Sarvato-bhadrikā*) image by Jita-mitrā mother of a perfumer (gāndhika) out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa on the 2nd day, the fourth month of winter year 32.

35. *MATHURĀ (CHAUBARA MOUND, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33.*

Ref :— Growse-Mathurā pt. II p. 172.; IA. VOL. VI p. 217 No. 2, Vol. XXXIII p. 31 No. 9.; EI. Vol. VIII p. 181. Lüder's List No. 38.

Frag:— Records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by the nun Dhanavantī, the female pupil (*antevāsinī*) of the monk Bala on the 8th day the first month of summer year 33 of Huvishka.

36. *JAIN IMAGE PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 33.*

Ref :— JUPHS. 1937 July p. 1 ff. No. 2.

Frag:— In the year 30 on the 10th day of the third month of summer (rest mutilated).

37. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, (NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 34.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 385 No. 7. Lüders List No. 39.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by the perfumer (gāndhika) Kumarabhaṭṭi out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, Vajrī Śākhā and Sirika saṁbhoga on the 10th day in the third month of the rainy season year 35.

38. *MATHURĀ (NOW INDIAN MUSEUM CALCUTTA) BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF PILLAR OF THE YEAR 35.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 127 No. 3.; JRAS. Vol. V p. 185 No. 10. Lüders List No. 40.

Frag:— Records dedication by the monk Buddhdāsa in the year 35 (?)

39. *LAKHAM BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 35.*

Ref :— Vogal Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A. 63.

Frag:— Records dedication of the image in the year 35 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka.

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40. *JAIN FOUR FOLD IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR*

Ref :— Vogal Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B. 70.

Frag:— Records dedication out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Brahmadāsika kula, Uchchairnāgarī sākhā and Srigriha saṁbhoga on the 12th day the first month of winter year 35.

41. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 35 OF HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. VIII p. 181.

Frag:— Records the setting up of a Bodhisattva image by nun Dhanavati, sister's daughter of the nun Buddhamitrā, female disciple (*antevāsinī*) of the monk Bala on the 8th day, the first month of summer year 33.

42. *MATHURĀ JAIN ELEPHANT CAPITAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 38.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 32 No. 9.; JASB. Vol. LXVII pt. I p. 276.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 37. Lüders List No. 41.

Frag:— Records the setting up the elephant (Nandīviśāla) by the banker (śreshṭhin) Rudradāsa, son of the banker (Śreshṭhin), Śivadāsa for the worship of the arhats on the 11th day of the month of winter year 38.

43. *CHHARGAON NĀGA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40 OF THE TIME OF KING HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— Cat. Mat. Mus. No. C. 13.

Frag:— Records the erection of this Nāga statue by the two comrades Senahastin and Bhomika on the 23rd day of the 2nd month of winter year 40 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Huvishka.

44. *MATHURĀ STONE PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 40.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 387 No. 11.

Frag:— Records the dedication of a stone pillar by Simhadattā, wife of the Grāmika, Jayanāga and daughter-in-law of the Grāmika Jayadeva out of the Vāraṇa gana, Ārya-Haṭikīya kula, Vajrinagariśākhā and Śiriya saṁbhoga on the 10th day in the month of winter year 40.

45. *MALE FIGURE INDO-SCYTHIAN DRESS INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 42.*

Ref :— Vogal. Cal. Mat. Mus. No. E. 25.

Frag:— Only the date 42 appears (rest all mutilated).

46. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 44 OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA DEVAPUTRA HUVISHKA OF THE YEAR 45.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 387 No. 9. Lüders List No. 42.

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Frag:— Records dedication of the image out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa, Ārya-chetika kula, Haritamālāgadhī Sākhā on the 2nd day in the 3rd month of summer year 44 of Mahārāja Huvishka.

47. *BOMBAY UNIVERSITY LIBRARY BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA DEVAPUTRA HUVISHKA OF THE YEAR 45.*

Ref :— JBBRAS. Vol. XX p. 269 ff. Lüders List No. 43.

Frag:— Records the installation of an image of Bhagavata Śākyamuni in the Rosikavihāra by the female lay worshipper (upāsikā) Khvasichā on the 15th day the third month of the rainy season year 45 of Mahārajā Devaputra Huvishka.

48. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) AN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 45.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 387 No. 10. Lüders List No. 44.

Frag:— Records dedication by the monk Buddhadāsa in the third month of the rainy season year 45.

49. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ TILA) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 33 No. 10. Alamanch der Wiener Akerdemic Vol. XXXVII p. 268. VOJ. Vol. I p. 176 f. No. 6.; EI. Vol. I p. 396 No. 30. Lüders List No. 45.

Frag:— Records dedication out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa and Petivāmika (Prītavāmika) kula on the 20th day the second month of summer year 47 (donor's name mutilated).

50. *MATHURĀ PILLAR BASE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. p. 20.

Frag:— Records gift of Friar Buddharakshita on the 25th day fourth month of summer year 47.

51. *MATHURĀ PILLAR BASE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— Vogal *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. p. 35.

Frag:— Only date on the 11th day, first month of the rainy season year 47 appears.

52. *MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— Vogal *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. p. 38.

Frag:— Records dedication of Friar on the 20th day the fourth month of summer year 47.

53. *MATHURĀ BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF A PILLAR OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. XXIII 1904 p. 101.; ASR. Vol. III.

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Frag:— Records gift to monk Jīvaka native of Uḍiyāna (?) to the vihāra of Mahārāja Rājatirāja Devaputra Huvishka on the 4th day the fourth month of summer year 47.

54. *MATHURĀ BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON THE BASE OF A PILLAR OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. XXXIII 1904 p. 162.; JASB. Vol. XXXIX p. 130 No. 18.

Frag:— Records gift of monk Dharmadeva on the 5th day of the rainy season year 47.

55. *MATHURĀ INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF A PILLAR OF THE YEAR 47.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. XXXIII 1904 p. 102.; JASB. Vol. XXXIX p. 127 No. 2.

Frag:— Records gift of Devila of the shrine of Dadhi-karṇa on the 29th day of the fourth month of summer of the year 47.

56. *MATHURĀ JAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 48.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 15.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 103. Lüders List No. 46.

Frag:— Mentions only the date 5th day of the fourth month of winter year 48 of Mahārāja Huvishkā and the Brahmadāsika kula and Uchchairnāgrī śākhā.

57. *MATHURĀ INSCRIBED IMAGE OF SAMBHANĀTH OF THE YEAR 48 OF MAHĀRĀJA HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. X p. 105 ff.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Sambha by Yaśa, out of the Koṭṭiya gana, Brahmadāsika kula and Vajranāgarī śākhā on the 17th day the second month of the rainy season in the year 48.

58. *MATHURĀ (KAÑKĀLĪ ṬĪLA NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 49.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXIX p. 14 ff.; EI. Vol. II p. 204 No. 29, II p. 321.; ASR. Vol. XX p. 12.; JRAS. 1903 p. 327.; El. Vol. IX p. 244. Lüders List No. 47.

Frag:— Records dedication by the female worshipper (Śravikā Dinā) out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and Vajrī śākhā on the 20th day of the fourth month of the rainy season year 49.

59. *JAIN IMAGE FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 50.*

Ref :— Vogal. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B. 29.; IA. Vol. VI p. 219 No. 11. Lüders List p. 219 No. 51.

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Frag :— Records dedication on the second day in the third month of winter in the year 50 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvisṅka.

60. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 50.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II No. p. 203 No. 17.

Frag:— Records gift in the winter of the year 50.

61. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 50.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Academic Vol. XXXIV p. 374.; VOJ. Vol. V p. 179.; EI. Vol. II p. 209 No.36. Lüders List No. 50.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Vardhamāna by Vijayaśrī out of the Vārana gaṇa, the Samkāsīya sākhā and Srigriha Sambhoga on the Ist day of the second month of winter year 50 (?).

62. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 50 OF MAHĀRĀJA DEVAPUTRA HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. XLII pt. I p. 130.; Growse: Mathura p. 10. Lüders List No. 52.

Frag:— Mentions the date—Ist day of the first month of winter of the year 51 of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka.

63. *MATHURĀ BUDDHIST IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 51 (?) OF MAHARAJA DEVAPUTRA HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. X p. 105 ff.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the image in the first month of winter of the year 51 (?).

64. *MATHURĀ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 52.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 205 No. 18. Lüders List No. 53.

Frag:— Records the gift of the iron-monger (lohakāra) Gottika, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Vajrī śākhā, the Sthānīyakula and Srigriha saṁbhoga on the 25th day the first month of winter year 52.

65. *NĀGA STATUE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 22.*

Ref: .. Vogal *Cat. Mat. Mus.* No. C. 21.

Frag:— Records dedication of this statue on the 25th day, the third month of the rainy season in the year 52.

66. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 54.*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXV p. 381 f.; VOJ. Vol. III p. 235, 239, 237 No. 2.; EI. Vol. I p. 391 No. 21.; ASR. Vol. XX p. 56 f.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 104 f No. 17. Lüders List No. 54.

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Frag:— Records dedication of a statue of Sarasvatī by smith (lohakāra) Gova at the instance of the preacher (vāchaka) Ārya Deva, the Śraddhāchara of the gaṇin. out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, Vairā śākhā and Srigriha sambhoga on the 10th day of the fourth month of winter year 54.

67. *MATHURĀ (SITLAGHAT MOUND NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 57.*

Ref :— IA. Vol. VI p. 218 No. 5. Growse Mathura p. 128 f.; ASR. Vol. XX p. 36.; EI. Vol. II p. 210 No. 38. Lüders List No. 55.

Frag:— Only the date is preserved—on the 13th day of the 3rd month of winter year 57.

68. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 60 (or 40) (?).*

Ref :— EI. VOL. I p. 386 No. 8 Vol. II p. 204 note 61.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 105 No. 11. Lüders List No. 56.

Frag:— Records dedication of the gift of Dattā, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula, and Ārya Vajrī śākhā on the 10th day, the fourth month of winter in the year 60 or 40 (?) of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka.

69. *MATHURĀ (NOW INDIAN MUSEUM CALCUTTA) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 62.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. XX p. 37.; VOJ. Vol. I p. 172 f.; Vol. V p. 63. Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXI p. 142.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 105 f. No. 19. Lüders List No. 57.

Frag:— Records the gift of the image by Vaibika (?) in the year 62.

70. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 62.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. XX p. 39.; EI. Vol. II p. 204 No. 19. Lüders List No. 58.

Frag:—Records dedication out of the Vāraṇa gaṇa on the 5th day, in the second month of the rainy season year 62.

71. *MATHURĀ (MORA FEMALE FIGURE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. E. 20.

Frag:— The name of Huvishka alone is intelligible.

72. *MĀT INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— JRAS. 1924 p. 397 ff. No. 3.

Frag:— Records the repair of a tank and a Devakula by a Bakanapati, son of a *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* for the life and prosperity of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Huvishka.

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73. *MATHURĀ IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— El. Vol. II p. 206 No. 25. Lüders List No. 80.

Frag:— The name of (Deva) putra Huvishka alone appears. (Rest all mutilated).

74. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA DEVAPUTRA HUVISHKA.*

Ref :— Almanach der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXIX p. 142.; VOJ. Vol. V p. 62.; EI. Vol. II p. 206 No. 26.; JRAS. 1903 p. 332 f. IA. VOL. XXXIII p. 38. Lüders List No. 35.

Frag:— The name Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka alone readable.

(C) *VĀSUDEVA'S GROUP*

75. *MATHURĀ (PALIKHERA) BUDDHA IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 67 OF VASUDEVA.*

Ref :— Proceedings Indian History Congress—Hyderabad session p. 163.

Frag:— Records the installation of the image of Buddha in the year 67, in the 2nd month of rainy season year 67, in the reign of (Mahārāja devaputra) Vāsudeva for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

76. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND) STONE SLAB OF THE TIME VĀSUDEVA IN THE YEAR 74.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 129 No. 15.; JRAS. Vol. V p. 183 No. 4.; ASR. Vol. II p. 32 No. 8.; EI. Vol. I p. 373 Note 7. N.C. series II Vol. XII p. 50 No. 66.; IA. Vol. IX p. 241, 246. Lüders List No. 60.

Frag:— Records dedication of the *Mahādaṇḍanāyaka* on the 30th day first month of rainy season in the year 74 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāsudeva.

77. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND NOW INDIAN MUSEUM) BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF PILLAR OF THE YEAR 77.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 130 No. 17.; JRAS. Vol. V p.183 No. 5.; ASR. Vol. III p.33 No. 11.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 102.; EI. Vol. IX 243 ft. Lüders List No. 61.

Frag:— Records dedication of the pillar by the Monk Dharmadeva on the 5th day of the month of summer year 77.

78. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND NOW INDIAN MUSEUM CALCUTTA) BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF A PILLAR OF THE YEAR 77.*

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Ref :— JASB. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 127 No. 1.; JRAS. Vol. V p. 182 f No. 1,; JRAS. Vol. V p. 195.; ASR. Vol. III p. 33 No.12. Growse-Mathura pt. I p. 74 notes; pt. II p. 172.; R.L. Mitra: Gaya p. 187.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 101 No. 11.; EI. Vol. IX p. 243 ff. Lüders List No. 62.

Frag:— Records dedication of base of a pillar to the Vihāra of Mahārāja Devaputra Huvishka by the Monk Jīvaka, inhabitant of Uḍḍiyāna on the 4th day the fourth month of summer year 77.

79. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND NOW INDIAN MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF PILLAR OF THE YEAR 77.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 127 No. 2.; JRAS. Vol. V p. 183 NO.2; ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 13.; IA. Vol. IX p. 243 ff. Lüders List No. 63.

Frag:— Records dedication of the pillar by Devila, servant of the priest at the temple of Dadhikarṇa on the 29th day of the fourth month of summer year 77.

80. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND NOW INDIAN MUSEUM) BUDDHIST INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF PILLAR OF THE YEAR 77.*

Ref :— JRAS. Vol. XXXIX pt. I p. 130 No. 18.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 101 f No. 12.; EI. Vol. IX p. 243 f. Lüders List No. 64.

Frag:— Records dedication on the 5th day of the rainy season year 77.

81. *MATHURĀ (JAIL MOUND NOW INDIAN MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION ON BASE OF A PILLAR OF THE YEAR 77.*

Ref :— JRAS. Vol. V. p. 184 No. 7.; ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 14.; EI. Vol. IX p. 243 ff.; Lüders List No. 65.

Frag:— Records dedication on the 10th day of the month of the rainy season, year 77.

82. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 79.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 204 No. 20.

Frag:— Records dedication by Dattā, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa Vajrī śākhā, on the 29th day the fourth month of the rainy season year 79.

83. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA VĀSUDEVA OF THE YEAR 80.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 392 No. 24. Lüders List No. 66.

Frag:— Records dedication by Grahaśrī on the 6th day, the first month of the rainy season year 81.

84. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ TĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 81.*

Ref :— EI. II p. 204 No. 201. Lüders List No. 67.

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Frag:— Records dedication at the request of Dattā, on the 6th day of the first month of the rainy season in the year 81.

85. *MATHURĀ JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 83 OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA VĀSUDEVA.*

Ref :— JRAS. Vol. V p. 184 No. 6.; ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 16.; Voj. Vol. IV p. 324.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 107 No. 21. Lüders List No. 68.

Frag:— Records dedication by Jinadāsī on the 16th day of the second month of summer year 83 of Mahārāja Vāsudeva.

86. *MATHURĀ JAIN INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 83.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. No. 17. Lüders List No. 69.

Frag:— Only date preserved—dedication made on the 25th day of the second month of summer year 83.

87. *MATHURĀ JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 83 OF MAHĀRĀJA VĀSUDEVA.*

Ref :— Vogal. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B 2.; ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 16. VOH. Vol. IV p. 324.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 107 No. 21.

Frag:— Records dedication of an image of Jinadāsī, wife of a Gāndhika (perfumer) on the 16th day in the second month of summer year 83 of Maharaja Vāsudeva.

88. *MATHURĀ JAIN IMAGE FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 83.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 34 No. 17. Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B 3.

Frag:— Records dedication on the 25th day in the second month of summer year 83.

89. *MATHURĀ JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 84.*

Ref :— JASB. Vol. V p. 6 No. 7.; Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B 4.

Frag:— Records erection of an image of the Lord Arhat Ṛsabha at the request of Kumārdatta, on the 2nd day of the second month of summer year 84 of the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāsudeva.

90. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 86.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 388 No. 12. Lüders List No. 70.

Frag:— Records dedication by some monk on the 12th day of the first month of winter year 86.

91. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 87 (?).*

Ref :— EI. Vol. I p. 388 f. No. 13. Lüders List No. 71.

Frag:— Records dedication on the 20th day of the first month of summer year 87 (?).

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92. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 87 OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA SHĀHI VASUDEVA.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 35 No. 18.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 108 No. 22. Lüders List No. 72.

Frag:— Only date preserved—30th day of the second month of winter year 87 of Mahārājā Rājātirāja Shāhi Vāsudeva.

93. *MATHURĀ MUSEUM JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 90 (?).*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 35 No. 19. Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXVIII p. 266 f.; VOJ. Vol. I p. 175 No. 3.; EI. Vol. II p. 205 No. 22. Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. 135. Lüders List No. 73.

Frag:— Records dedication out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Prabhayahanaka kula and Majhamā sākha in the year 90(?) day and month mutilated.

94. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 93.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 205 No. 23. Lüders List No. 74.

Frag:— Records the setting up of an image of Mahāvīr by the daughter of the goldsmith (*hiraṇyakāra*) in the rainy season of the year 93 (day and month mutilated).

95. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ, NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN PANEL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 95 (?).*

Ref :— Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXV. p. 381.; VOJ. Vol. III p. 234, 240, No. 3 Vol. IV p. 327 No. 3.; EI. Vol. I p. 392 No. 22.; ASR. Vol. XX p. 24. Lüders List No. 75.

Frag:— Records the gift of the wife of Dhanahastin out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Sthānīya kula and Vaira sākhā on the 18th day, in the second month of summer year 95 (?).

96. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF RAJA VĀSUDEVA.*

Ref :— ASR. Vol. III p. 35 f No. 20. Almanch der Wiener Akademic Vol. XXXVII p. 267 f.; VOJ. I p 177 ff. No. 8 Vol. II p. 144.; IA. Vol. XXXIII p. 108 No. 23. Lüders List No. 76.

Frag:— Records the gift of the daughter of the daughter-in-law of the perfumer (gāndhika) Varuṇa out of the Dehikiya gaṇa, Paridhāsika kula, and Pita-Putrikā śākhā on the 11th day the fourth month of the rainy season year 98.

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97. *MATHURĀ (KAṄKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ NOW LUCKNOW MUSEUM) JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 98.*

Ref :— EI. Vol. II p. 108 No. 24. Lüders List No. 77.

Frag:— Records dedication of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa and Uchchanāgarīśākhā on the 5th day in the first month of winter year 98.

98. *LAKHAM (HATHRAS NOW MATHURĀ MUSEUM) PEDESTAL FRAGMENTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF VĀSUDEVA.*

Ref :— Cat. Mat. Mus. No. G 38.

Frag:— Mentions the name of Mahārāja Vāsudeva.

(D) VASKUṢHĀṆA-VĀŚISĀKA-VAJESHKA.

99. *SĀÑCHĪ INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 22 OF RĀJAN VASKUSHĀṆA.*

Ref :— Sāñchī-Mus-Cat. p. 30. Marshall & Foucher-Sāñchī Vol. I p. 386 No. 829.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the image of Śākyamuni by Vidyā on the 10th day in the second month of the rainy season year 22 of Rājan Vaskushāṇa.

100. *MATHURĀ YŪPA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 24 OF MAHARĀJA RĀJĀTIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA VAŚISHKA.*

Ref :— Vogel, Cat. Mat. Mus. No. Q 13.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the sacrificial post (Yūpa) After performing a sacrifice for twelve days by Droṇala, son of Rudrila of the Bhāradvāja gotra and a Chhāndogi Brahmin on the 30th day in the fourth month of summer year 24 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Vāishka.

101. *SĀÑCHĪ BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 28 OF MAHĀRĀJA RĀJĀTIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA VĀSISHKA.*

Ref :— Sāñchī Mus. Cat. p. 30 No. A 82.; EI. Vol. II P. 39; Vol. IX p. 244-45.; ASIAR. 1910-11 p. 42.; JRAS. 1903 p. 326 ff. Lüders List No. 161.

Frag:— Records installation of the image of Bodhisattva by Madhurikā daughter of Vīra on the fifth day, the first month of summer year 28 of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Shāhi Vāshiska.

102. *MATHURĀ COLLOSAL SEATED IMAGE INSCRIPTION OF THE TIME OF MAHĀRĀJA RĀJĀTIRĀJA DEVAPUTRA KUSHĀṆAPUTRA VAMATAKSHA.*

Ref :— ASI. An. Rep. 1911-12 p. 124.

Frag:— Records the construction of a temple (*Devakula*), a garden (*ārāma*) a tank (*pushkariṇī*) and a well (*udpāna*) in the time of Mahārāja Rājātirāja Devaputra Kushāṇaputra.

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103. *MATHURĀ PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 14 OF MĀHĀRĀJA DEVAPUTRA* KANISHKA.

Ref :— EI. Vol. XIX p. 96.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the image of Buddha by Sanghila on the 10th day of the month of Pausha year 14 of Mahārāja Devaputra Kanishka.

SUPPLEMENTARY INSCRIPTIONS

1. *INSCRIBED FRAGMENTARY IMAGE OF VARDHMĀNA SEALED IN DHYĀNAMUDRĀ.*

Ref :— K. D. Bajpai: *Jaina Antiquary*, XVII, July, 1950. pp 13ff.

Frag:— Records the establishment of the image of Mahāvīra in the second month of the summer of the year 92.

2. *INSCRIPTION ON A BROKEN PEDESTAL-TĪRTHAṄKARA IMAGE? COMPLETELY BROKEN*

Ref :— ibid. No. 2.

Frag :— Records the installations of the image of Sumati or Sumatināth, by a lady named Mitrā, who was probably the daughter of Somagupta.

3. *INSCRIPTION ON A COMPLETE PEDESTAL OF A TĪRTHAṄKARA IMAGE COMPLETELY BROKEN.*

Ref :— ibid No. 3.

Frag:— Records the dedication in the reign of Devaputra Kanishka in the year 17, in the second month of the winter season on the 25th day, at the request Kaushikī Gṛiharkshitā, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, Sāntinika kula and vairā śākhā.

UNDATED BRĀHMĪ RECORDS OF THE KUSHĀṆA PERIOD

1. *ANYOR (MATHURĀ) BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A 66.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the image for the acceptance of the Sarvāstivādinas.

2. *MATHURĀ BODHISATTVA INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A 1.

Frag:— Records setting up of the Bodhisattva by Amgohaśrī.

3. *ANYOR (MATHURĀ) BUDDHA INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. A 2. ASR. Vol. XX p. 49.

Frag:— Records the setting up of the Buddha image at the convent of Ulvara.

4. *MATHURĀ JAIN STATUE INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B 14. Growse-Mathura I p. 118. IA. Vol. VI p. 219 No. 8.; JASB. Vol. XLVII, 1878 p. 1 p. 119.; EI. Vol. I p. 383.; IA. XXXIII p. 154 No. 33.

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Frag:— Records the setting up of the image at the request of Siha.

5. *JAIN IMAGE FRAGMENTARY INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. B 18.

Frag:— Only Koṭṭiya gaṇa and Uchchalīya kula mentioned.

6. *NĀGA IMAGE INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. C 16.

Frag:— Records the gift of Aśvadeva, son of Bhuvana the Tripravaraka.

7. *MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel. Cat. Mat. Mus. No. P 24.

Frag:— Mentions the term *Sanghaprakita*(*ā*)n(am) viz. the superiors of the community among whom Buddhaghosa ranked first (pramukha).

8. *MATHURĀ PILLAR INSCRIPTION.*

Ref :— Vogel Cat. Mat. Mus. No. P. 37.

Frag:— Mentions the gift of Bhaila who was the chief *(pramukha)* among the superiors of the community *(Sangh-prakritānam).*

9. *KAÑKĀLĪ ṬĪLĀ JAIN IMAGE INSCRIPTION.*

Edited by Buhler in Epigraphica Indika Vol. I pp. 383 ff. Nos. 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 25, 26, 27, 33, 34; and 35 and EI. Vol. II pp. 206ff Nos. 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34; 35, and 36. Most of these bear inscriptions in one or two lines which only repeat the same gaṇas, kulas, and Śākhās. We shall therefore mention only those ones which have inscription in more than two lines and are informative.

10. *EI. Vol. I p. 389 No. 14.*

Frag:— Records the dedication of an image by Gulha, out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa the Brahmadāsikā kula and the Uchchairnagarī śākhā.

EI. Vol. I p. 390 No. 17.

Frag:— Records the erection of a toroṇa by the lay pupil *(s'rāvikā)* Balahastin.

11. *EI. Vol. I p. 390 No. 18.*

Frag:— Records the setting up of a stone slab at the sacred place of the divine lord of snake *Dadhikarṇa* by the troup actors *Śailālaka* Chandaka.

12. *EI. Vol. I No. 33 p. 306.*

Frag:— Records the setting up of a tablet of homage (*āyāgapaṭa)* by Śivamitra of the Kauśika gotra who was in disputation as a serpent to the Śākyas and Poṭhyas.

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13. *EI. Vol. II p. 208 No. 34.*

Frag:— Records the setting up of an image of Vardhamāna by three brothers, Śiva, Sena, Deva-Sena, and Śiva-deva.

(Note:—the names show that these donors were Śaivites).

14. *EI. Vol. II p. 209 No. 37.*

Frag:— Records the setting up of a fourfold image by Sthirā out of the Koṭṭiya gaṇa, the Uchchariranāgarī śākhā, & the Brahmadāsika-kula.

Further Inscription from Mathurā.

These inscriptions inscribed on various objects were all collected and published by Dr. V. S. Agrawala in the Journal of the U.P. Historical Society July 1937 pp. I ff, and July 1939 pp. 22 ff.

Those which are undated are Nos. 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21.

These Inscriptions range from a few letters to quite a good many lines. We shall consider only the important ones which mention place names or professional classes, or are important from some other point of view.

1. *U.P.H.S. 1937 pp. 1 ff. No. 1.*

Frag:— Records the gift of Bhaṭṭidava, a resident of Abhisāra.

2. *U.P.H.S. 1937 pp. 1 ff. No. 3.*

Frag:— Mentions the name Sara, the Chief of barbers (Rājanāpita).

3. *U.P.H.S. July 1939 pp. 22 ff. No. 11.*

Frag:— Records the gift for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghika teachers.

4. *U.P.H.S. July 1939 p. 23 ff. No. 12.*

Frag:— Records dedication in the Āpnaka Vihāra for the acceptance of the Mahāsāṅghikas.

5. *U.P.H.S. July 1939 pp. 24 and f No. 14.*

Frag:— Records dedication by Nāgapriyā, wife of the trader (vaṇika) Dharmakasha for the acceptance of the Dharmaguptika teachers.

6. *U.P.H.S. July 1939 pp. 26 ff. No. 17.*

Frag:— Record dedication of the image of Priyadeva, the village headman (Padrapāla), a resident of Rajapalliya.

GIGLA MATHURĀ ŚIVA LIṄGA INSCRIPTION.

7. Ref :— JUPHS. July 1939 pp. 29 and ff.

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Frag:— Records the installation of this liṅga of the deity Jaṭeśvara by some donor whose name ended in Īśvara.

BODHISATTVA PEDESTAL INSCRIPTION FROM SĀÑCHĪ.

1. Ref :— Marshall. *Cat. San Mus.* No. A 84. Marshall and Foucher, *Sāñchi* Vol. I No. 830.

Frag:— Records the installation of the image of Bodhisattva Maitreya.

23 minor inscription noted by Vogel in his catalogue of the Mathurā Museum. They range from a few letters to one line and mostly mention the names of donors. They are the following:—

Nos. A 50, 56, 64; C. 28, G 10, G 39, G 42, G 43, G 47, J 1, J 13, J 15, J 21, J 36, J 47, J 48, J 52; J 68, N 1, P 34, p 36 and Q 4.

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Kanishka's Relic Casket

(From Peshawar)

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(a) *Kushana King holding a relic casket*
(b) *Warrior in armour.*

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Scenes from the Buddha's Life

(i) Interpretation of Maya's Dream.

Scenes from the Buddha's Life

(ii) The birth of the Buddha

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Seated Buddha in the Dharma-Chakrapravartana mudra

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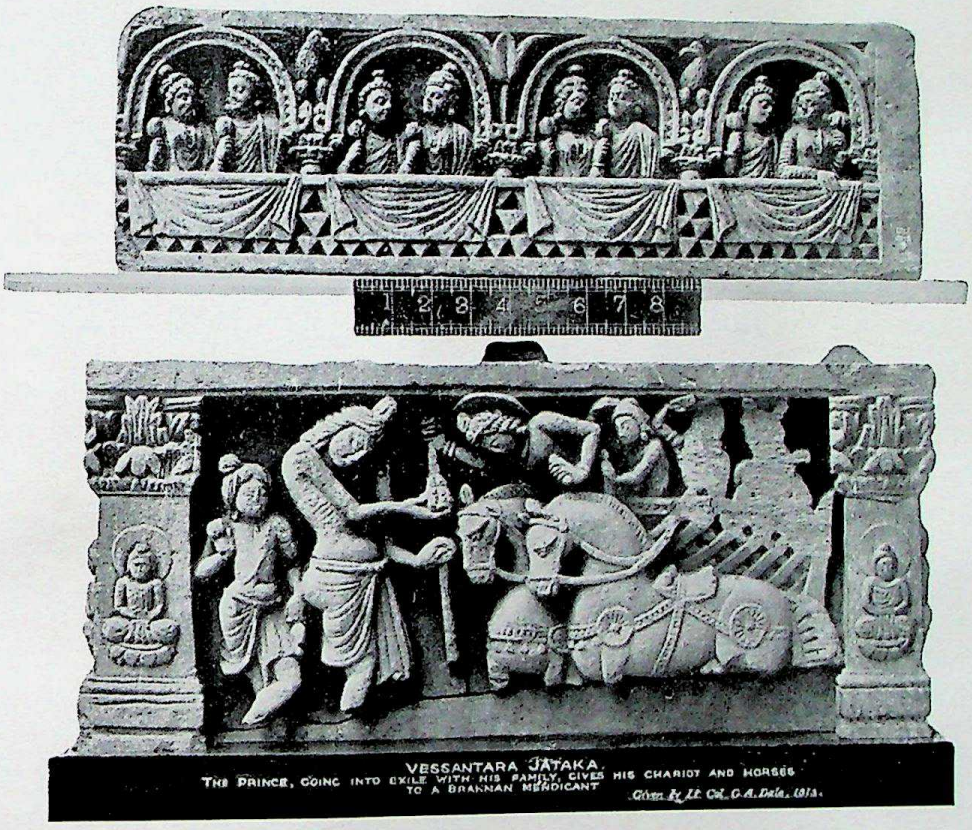

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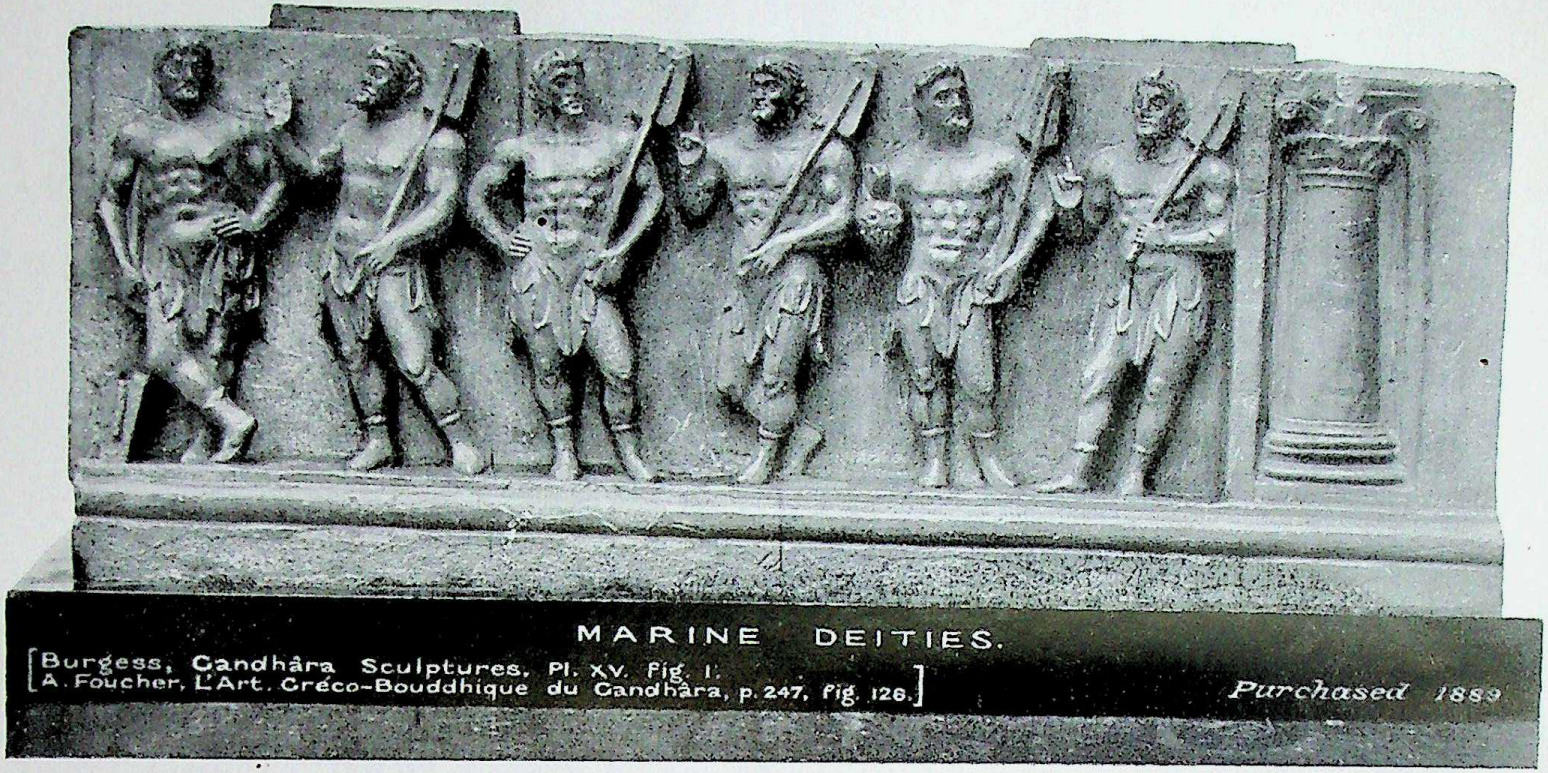

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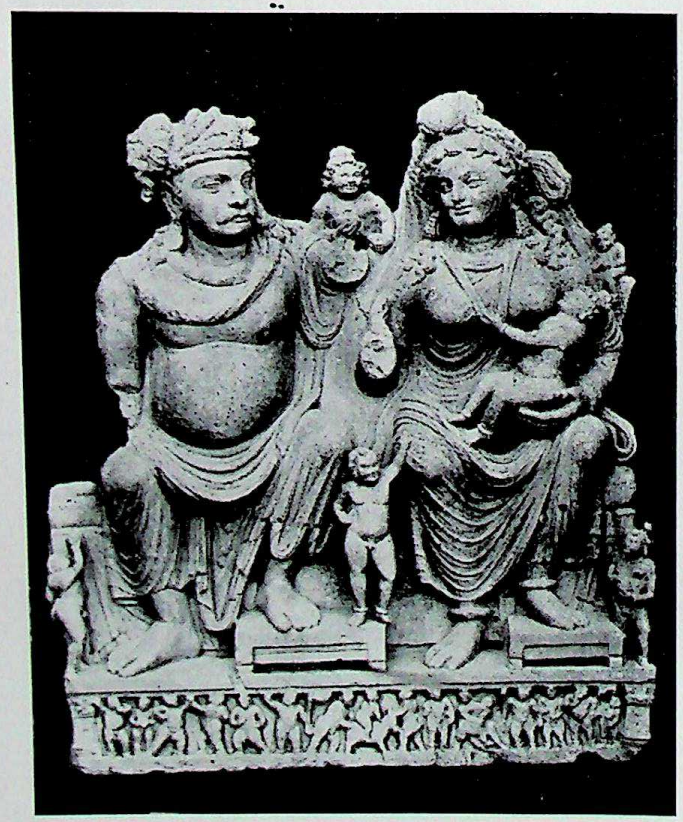

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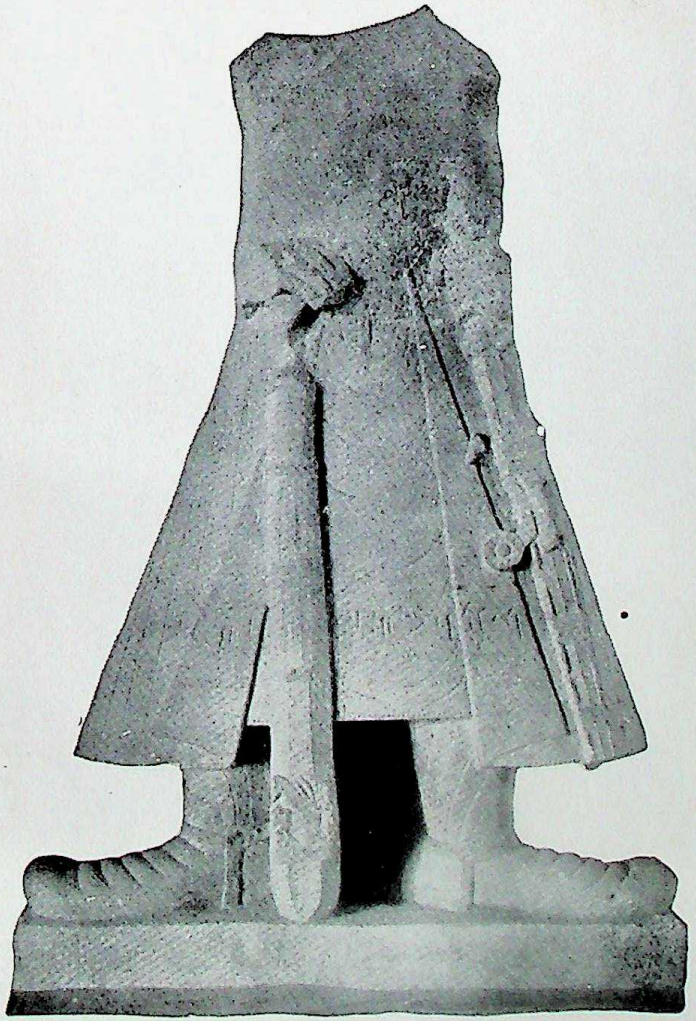

Kanishka's Statue

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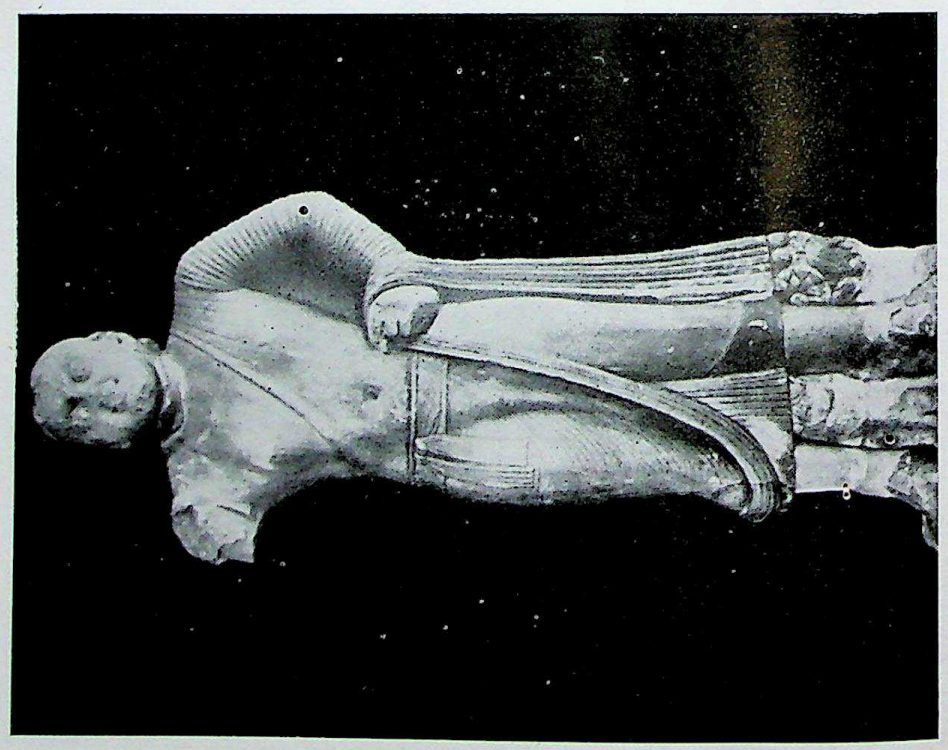
Buddha from Katra (Mathura)



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Parsvanatha

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A Bacchanalian Scene

(From Mathura Museum)

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Sculptured panel showing Mahavira(?) preaching to the Royalty.

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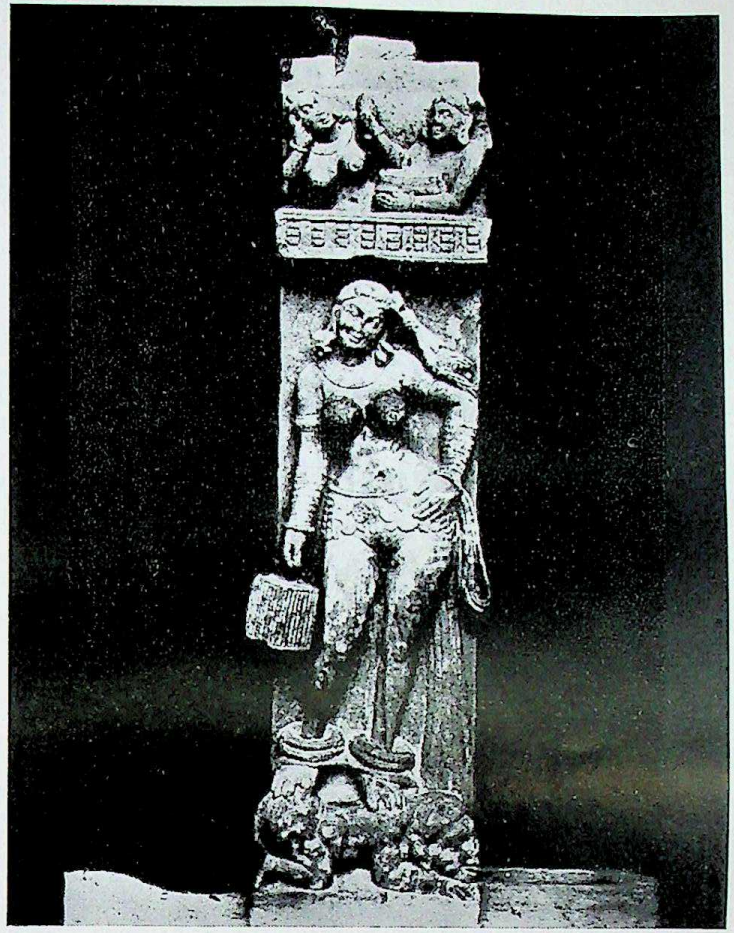

The standing female figure with a cage.

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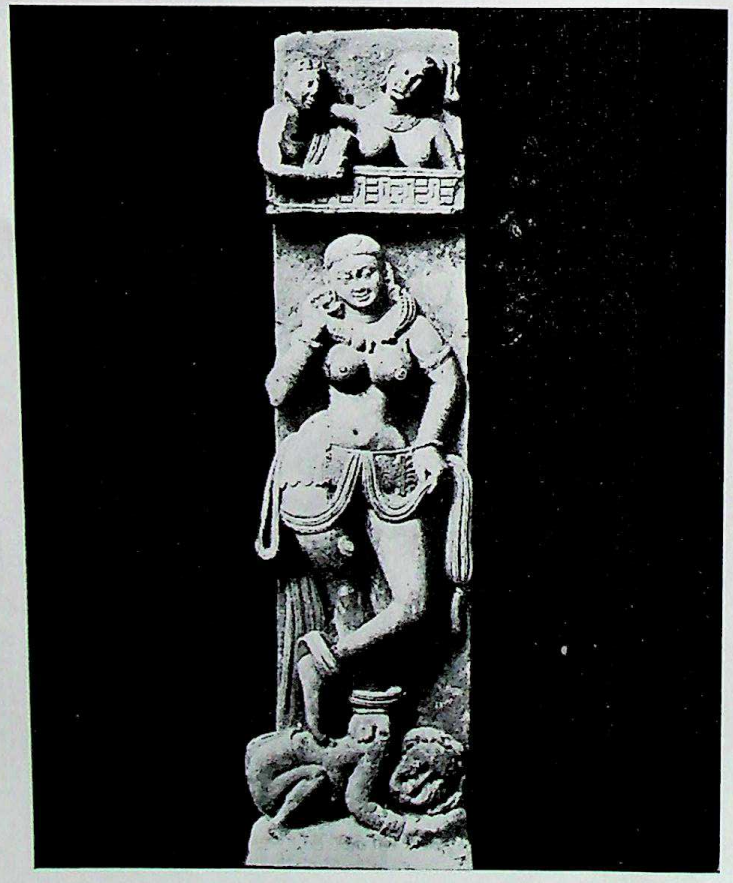
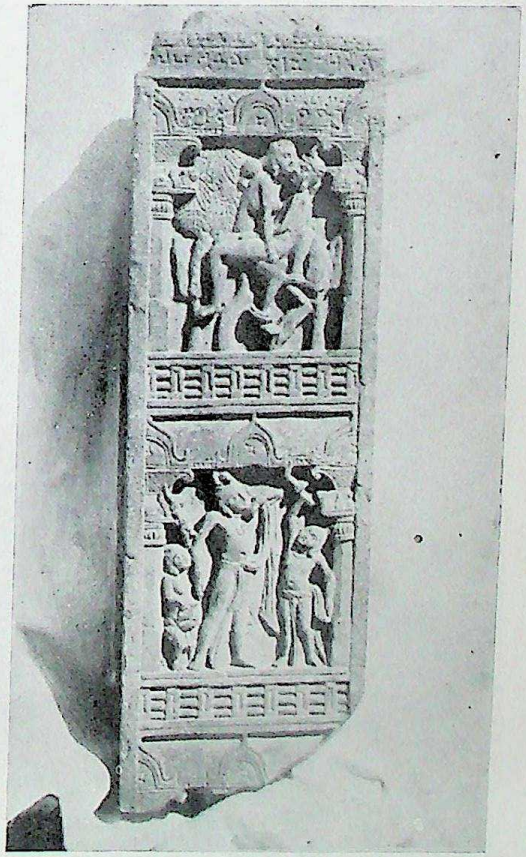


Railing pillar with a female figure standing on the back of a dwarf.

(From Mathura Museum)



Fragment of a Torana pillar with an inscription of Balahastin.

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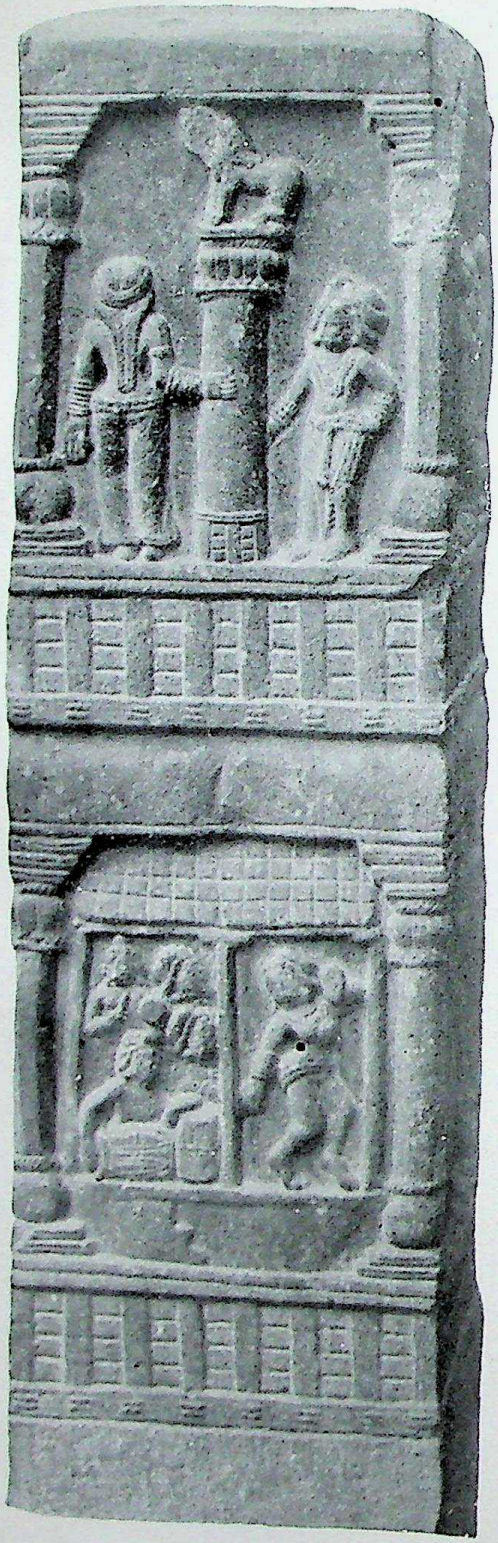

Dancing Scene

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Woman with pitcher

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Human couple on a bench facing each other

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